









# PERSIAN LITERATURE

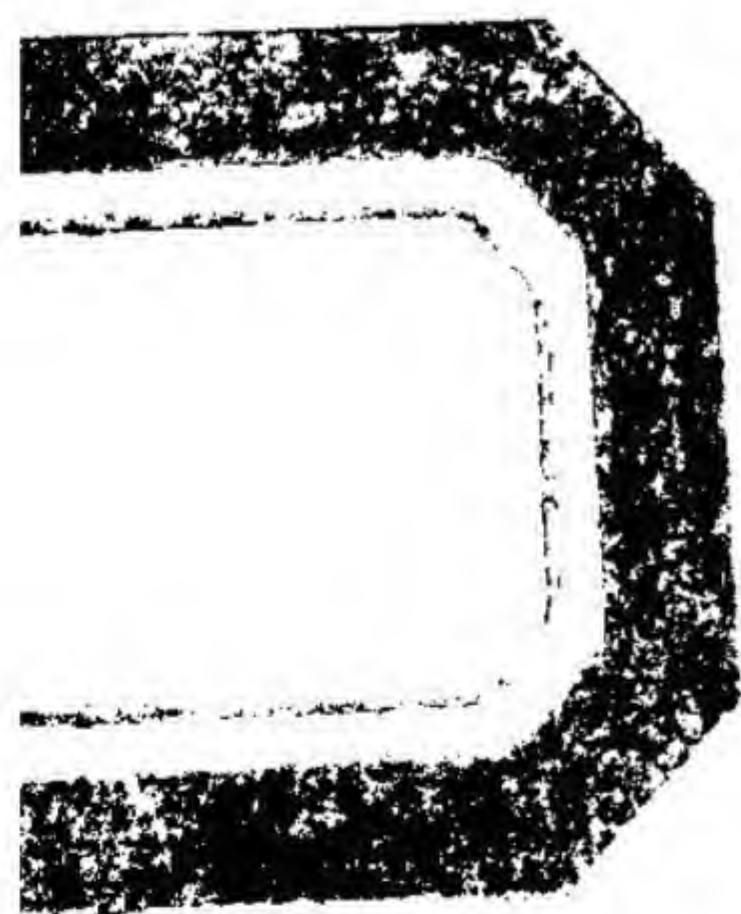
A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

BY  
C. A. STOREY

SECTION II

FASCICULUS 3

M. HISTORY OF INDIA



LUZAC & CO.,

46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

1939.



~~111 (Adm. R.)~~

DATE LABEL

~~Adm~~

~~7/5/80.~~

~~12~~ ~~Perh.~~

~~Adm~~

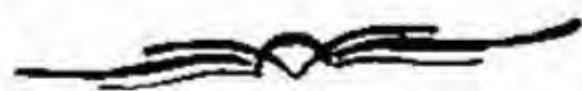
~~7/1/80~~

Call No. \_\_\_\_\_

Acc. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR  
LIBRARY







# PERSIAN LITERATURE ,

A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

778  
HL

BY

C. A. STOREY

SECTION II

FASCICULUS 3

M. HISTORY OF INDIA



LUZAC & CO.,

46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON.

1939.

**J. & K. UNIVERSITY LIB.**  
Acc No . . . . . **58345**  
Date . . . . . **4. 2. 66**

*ST/82*

**ST 01**

*M*



ALLAMA IQBAL LIBRARY



58345



## PREFACE

**T**HE present fasciculus almost completes the survey of historical literature in Persian, but not quite, since the next fasciculus, devoted primarily to biography, will contain also additions and corrections to the Qur'ānic and historical sections as well as a provisional index.

A few words must be said about points of transliteration. The sign *ḍ* having been used to represent the Arabic *ḍād*, it has been found necessary to use a different sign (*ḍ̣*) for the palatal *d* which occurs in Urdu and other Indian languages. In previous fasciculi *thā'*, *khā'* and *dhāl* have been represented by *th*, *kh*, and *dh*, while *th*, *ṭh*, *kh*, *dh* and *ḍh* (without the underlining) have stood for the combinations *تھ*, *ٹھ*, *کھ*, *دھ* and *ڏھ*. It seems, however, that a clearer distinction is desirable, and therefore, in this fasciculus *ṭh*, *ṭ̣h*, *k'h*, *d'h* and *ḍ̣h* have been transliterated *t'h*, *ṭ'h*, *k'h*, *d'h*, and *ḍ̣h* in accordance with the practice adopted sporadically by Rieu in his British Museum catalogues and regularly by Ivanow in the catalogues prepared by him for the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In transliterating the proper names of Indians I have allowed myself to represent certain vowel sounds in accordance with the Indian pronunciation and to write Aurangzēb, Fīrōz-Shāh and the like, but I have not been rigidly consistent in this matter and I have not, for example, thought it necessary to change the title *Safīnah i Khwushgū* into *Safīnah i Khwushgō* (or *Khwash-gō*), though "*Khwushgō*" was an Indian. Such inconsistencies as there are will probably cause no trouble.

It remains for me to express my grateful acknowledgments to Dr. A. J. Arberry, who has provided me with information concerning India Office accessions as well as other matters, and to Mr. A. F. L. Beeston, who has informed me about manuscripts in the Bodleian library and the Indian Institute at Oxford. I am indebted also to several reviewers, who have suggested additions and corrections, Professor V. Minorsky (*BSOS.* viii (1935-7), pp. 255-7, ix/1 (1937), pp. 253-4), Dr. W. Hinz (*ZDMG.* 91 (1937), pp. 755-8), Mr. C. N. Seddon (*JRAS.* 1938, pp. 568-9), Professor J. Rypka (*Archiv Orientální* x, 1-2 (1938), pp. 358-9), Mr. R. Lescot (*Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas*, vii-viii, pp. 281-3), Professor G. Morgenstierne (*Acta Orientalia*, xvii, pp. 238-9), and others.

C. A. STOREY.

May, 1939.



## LIST OF AUTHORITIES AND ABBREVIATIONS

[Supplementary to the lists printed on pp. ix-xxiii, xxix-xxxv, and [xliv]  
facing p. 237.]

Arberry = *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office. Vol. ii. Part vi. Persian books. By A. J. Arberry . . . London, 1937.*

Bānkīpūr Suppt. i, ii = *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. Volume i (Volume ii). By Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir. Patna (Calcutta printed) 1932, 1933. [I regret that the existence of this supplement did not come to my knowledge until 1936.]*

Caetani = *La fondazione Caetani per gli studi musulmani. Notizia della sua istituzione e Catalogo dei suoi MSS. orientali per cura di G. Gabrieli. Rome, 1926.*

Edhem and Stchoukine = *Les manuscrits orientaux illustrés de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Stamboul. Par Fehmi Edhem et Ivan Stchoukine (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul, 1). Paris, 1933.*

Philadelphia Lewis Coll. = *Oriental manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia. A descriptive catalogue . . . by Muhammed Ahmed Simsar. Philadelphia, 1937.*



## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (a) GENERAL

[For the general histories of the Muḥammadan world, including India, see pp. 61–158 of this work.]

612. A certain “‘**Iṣāmī**” composed in 750/1349–50 and dedicated to ‘Alā’ al-Dunyā wa-’l-Dīn Abū ’l-Muẓaffar Bahman-Shāh Sultān, the first ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty, his

*Futūḥ al-salātīn*, an epic poem on the rulers of India from the Ghaznawids to the date of composition, one of the authorities of the *Tabaqāt i Akbarī*: **Ethé** 895 (damaged. 16th cent.), **Haidarābād** Maulawī M. Ghauth’s Library (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. xiv no. 1 (Nov. 1937) p. 90<sup>1</sup>), possibly also **Rehatsek** p. 131 no. 16 (cf. p. 493 *infra*) and **Āṣafīyah** I p. 226 no. 673 (cf. p. 493 *infra*).

Edition : **Āgrah** 1938 (ed. Āghā Mahdī Husain).

Description etc. : ‘*Iṣāmī-nāmah*, by S. Yūsha’, **Madras** 1937 (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. xiv no. 1 (Nov. 1937) p. 89).

613. Khwājah **Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad** b. M. Muqīm al-Harawī was appointed *Bakhshī* of Gujrāt in Akbar’s 29th regnal year and *Bakhshī* of the empire in the 37th year. He died at the age of 45 on 23 Ṣafar 1003/1594, the 39th year.

*Tabaqāt i Akbarī*, as it is usually called, or *Tabaqāt i Akbar-Shāhī*, as the author himself called it, or *Tārīkh i Nizāmī*, as it is sometimes called, written A.H. 1001/1592–3 (but Akbar’s reign is brought down to the end of the 38th year A.H. 1002/1593–4), the earliest of the general histories of India and the basis of subsequent works like the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* and the *Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī*, divided into a *muqaddimah* (the Ghaznawids), nine *tabaqāt* ((1) Delhi A.H. 574/1178–1002/1593 concluding with notices of celebrated men of Akbar’s time, (2) the Deccan A.H. 748/1347–1002/1593, (3) Gujrāt A.H. 793/1390–980/1572, (4) Mālwah A.H. 809/1406–977/1569, (5) Bengal A.H. 741/1340–984/1576, (6) Jaunpūr A.H. 784/1382–881/1476, (7) Kashmīr A.H. 747/1346–995/1586, (8) Sind A.H. 86/705–1001/1592, (9) Multān A.H. 847/1443–923/1517) and a geographical *khātimah* (apparently never finished, since in the



MSS. it consists of only a few lines): **‘Aligarh** Subh. MSS. p. 57 no. 954 (3) (A.H. 1003/1594-5), **Rieu** iii 906*a* (lacks circ. 40 foll. at beginning. Late 16th cent.), 906*a* (transcribed from the preceding. A.D. 1854), i 220*a* (17th cent.), 221*b* (A.H. 1049/1640), 221*b* (18th cent.), 222*a* (from Balban to Ibrāhīm Lōdī. 17th cent.), 222*a* (Bābur and Humāyūn. 19th cent.), **Eton** 182 (A.H. 1020/1611-12), 183 (A.H. 1059/1649), **Ethé** 225 (A.H. 1031/1622), 226 (A.H. 1069/1659), 227, 228, 229 (lacks *Ṭabaqah* ix. Collated A.H. 1079/1669), 230 (*Muqaddimah* and *Ṭabaqah* i. A.H. 1066/1656), 231 (*Muqaddimah* and part of *Ṭabaqah* i. A.H. 1103/1691), 232 (portion relating to Shēr Shāh. A.H. 1046/1636), ii 3014 (*Ṭabaqah* iii), **Bodleian** 184 (A.H. 1049/1639), 185 (A.H. 1088/1677), 186-191 (six undated copies, of which 190 is described as very good, 191 (*Muqaddimah* and most of *Ṭabaqah* i) as old, and 189 as differing in arrangement), **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A. iv 54 (A.H. 1131/1719), **Vollers** 972 (A.H. 1063/1653), 973, **Blochet** i 530 (lacks *Ṭabaqah* ix and *Khātimah*. Mid 17th cent.), 531 (*Muqaddimah* and *Ṭabaqah* i. A.H. 1089/1678), 532 (*Muqaddimah* and *Ṭabaqah* i. Late 17th cent.), 533 (*Ṭabaqāt* ii, iii, v, vi (?), vii. 17th-18th cent.), **Aumer** 235 (collated A.H. 1081/1670-1), **Bānkipūr** vii 535 (lacks *Ṭabaqah* iv. 17th cent.), **Mehren** p. 21 no. 56 (Akbar's reign from A.H. 969 to 1001. Copied A.H. 1114/1702-3), **Ivanow** 115 (early 12th cent. H.), 116 (12th cent. H.), Curzon 24 (defective. 18th cent.), 25 (defective. 18th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 205 no. 934 (circ. A.D. 1750), no. 405 (circ. A.D. 1780-1830), **Būhār** 60 (23rd year of Shāh-‘Ālam's reign = 1195-6/1781-2), **Berlin** 485 (A.D. 1809), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 246 no. 732 (A.H. 1298/1881), p. 226 no. 720 (part relating to the Deccan), **Edinburgh** 77 (old), **Lahore** Panjab Univ. Lib. (one nearly complete copy and one of the Delhi *ṭabaqah* only. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) pp. 45-6), **R.A.S.** P. 59 = Morley 46 (defective), **Rehatsek** p. 100 no. 54, **Salemann-Rosen** p. 12 no. 269\* (‘jild i awwal az *Tārīkh* i Akbar-Shāhī?’). Author not stated).

Editions: *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī* [Lucknow,] 1870°, 1292/1875\*, Calcutta 1913- (edited by B. De. Bibliotheca Indica. The



three parts so far published (in 1913, 1927 and 1931) contain the *Muqaddimah* and the whole of *Tabaqah* i).

English translation : by B. De, Calcutta 1913- (Bibliotheca Indica. The two fasciculi published in 1913 and 1927 form "vol. i" of the translation and contain the history to the end of Ibrāhīm Lōdī's reign. "Vol. ii," published in 1936, carries the translation to the end of *Tabaqah* i).

Translations of extracts : (1) Elliot *Bibliographical index* pp. 186-203. (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v pp. 187-476 (translated by J. Dowson).

Descriptions : (1) Elliot *Bibliographical index* pp. 178-80, 183, 203-4. (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v pp. 177-87.

Anonymous epitome : (*Muntakhab i Tabaqāt i Akbarī*) I.O. D.P. 746.

Condensed extract relating to various dynasties of the Deccan (only ?) : *Dhikr i ahwāl i salātīn i Hindūstān*, Ivanow 117 (A.D. 1811).

[*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* ii 397 ; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i 660-4 (English translation in Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v 178-80) ; Elliot *Bibliographical Index* i 180-5 ; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v 178-83, vi 130 ; Rieu i 220 ; *Khawājah Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad* (in Urdu) by S. Ahmad Allāh Qādirī (in the Urdu periodical *Ma'ārif*, A'zamgarh, August 1931, pp. 121-37) ; *Ency. Isl.* under Nizām al-Dīn.]

614. 'Abd al-Qādir "Qādirī" b. Mulūk-Shāh b. Hāmid Badā'ūnī<sup>1</sup> was born on 17 Rabī' ii A.H. 947/21 August 1540<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to H. Blochmann, *JASB.* 38 (1869) p. 119 n., "The word *Badāon* [sic] has the accent on the penultima, and a final nasal *n* ; hence *badāonī*, with a short *o* or *u*, and the Shakh i Hamzah above the *wāw*, an inhabitant of *Badāon*. The transliteration *Badāūnī*, which I have seen in some works, is misleading ; for *باداونی* has the *wazn* of *مفاعیلن*, - - - -, and *Badāūnī* would be *مفاعیلن*, - - - -." Blochmann's pronouncement is probably based on the scansion of the *nisbah* in *M. al-t.* iii pp. 144<sup>12</sup> and 146<sup>14-15</sup>. The name of the town occurs in a verse on p. 139 of vol. ii, where the scansion is - - -. The last word has not yet been said on this subject. Cf. *JRAS.* 1924 p. 272 ; 1925 pp. 517 and 715-16 ; 1926 pp. 103-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* i p. 363 penult.



at Tōdah <sup>1</sup> [i.e. apparently Toda Bhim, now in the state of Jaipur]. Soon afterwards he seems to have been taken to Basāwar,<sup>2</sup> evidently for a time at least the home of his family.<sup>3</sup> At the age of twelve he was at Sambhal, where his father had taken him to pursue his studies under Shaikh Hātim Sanbhalī (*M. al-t.* i p. 425, iii pp. 2, 66).<sup>4</sup> In 966/1558-9 he went from Basāwar to study at Āgrah (*M. al-t.* ii p. 32) and for some years he was a pupil of Shaikh Mubārak Nāgaurī (*M. al-t.* iii pp. 67, 74). In 969/1562 his father died at Āgrah (*M. al-t.* ii p. 53), and not long after he evidently removed to Badā'ūn. He was there, for example, in 971/1563-4 (*M. al-t.* ii p. 73), and it was there that he married for the second time in 975/1567-8 (*M. al-t.* ii p. 105). In 973/1565-6, however, leaving Badā'ūn, he entered the service of Husain Khān, the *Jāgīrdār* of Paṭiyālī, and remained with him for nearly nine years (*M. al-t.* ii pp. 86-7, 222), moving with him when his *jāgīr* was transferred to Lucknow and again to Kānt u Gōlah.

It was at the end of 981/1574 that 'Abd al-Qādir, having severed his connexion with Husain Khān, went from Badā'ūn to Āgrah and was presented to Akbar through the influence of Jalāl Khān Qūrchī and Ḥakīm 'Ain al-Mulk (*M. al-t.* ii p. 172). In 982/1574-5 he was appointed an *imām* (*M. al-t.* ii p. 206)

<sup>1</sup> *M. al-t.* ii p. 236, l. 9: *qaṣabah i Tōdah kih maulid i faqīr ast u [sic] Basāwar kih nisbat i "wa-awwalu arḍin massa jildī turābuhā" dārad*. This appears to mean that he was born at Tōdah and learned to walk at Basāwar. It is, therefore, difficult to see why the *Encyclopædia of Islam* should say that 'Abd al-Qādir was "born at Basāwar in the *sarkār* of Sambhal [sic]". That Tōdah and Basāwar were west of Āgrah (and therefore not in the *sarkār* of Sambhal) seems clear from *M. al-t.* ii pp. 235-6, where 'Abd al-Qādir records a journey from Gōgundah to Fathpūr via Mōhanī, Bāg'haur [sic], Māndalgarh, Anbēr, Tōdah, and Basāwar.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Bhasāwar, now in the Bharatpūr State, about 18 miles N.E. of Toda Bhim.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir often mentions the place. His father was buried there (*M. al-t.* ii p. 53) and so was his maternal grandfather Makhdūm Ashraf (*M. al-t.* ii p. 64). 'Abd al-Qādir was not the first of his family to be connected with Badā'ūn, since we learn from *M. al-t.* iii 75 that his father studied at Sambhal and Badā'ūn.

<sup>4</sup> In the third volume of the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* there is a section (pp. 66 seq.) devoted to the author's teachers.



and in 983/1575-6 he became one of the seven *imāms* and was instructed to lead the prayers on Wednesdays (*M. al-t.* ii p. 226). In the same year he was granted 1,000 *bīg'hās* of land as a *madad i ma'āsh* (originally at Basāwar, but in 997/1588-9 the grant was transferred to Badā'ūn. *M. al-t.* ii p. 368). From 982/1574 onwards he took a prominent part in the literary activities—mainly historiography and the translation of Hindu works into Persian—which Akbar promoted. His religious orthodoxy made him unsympathetic to Akbar's free-thought and he regarded his master's innovations with a disapproval which he does not conceal in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*. It is stated in the *Khizānah i 'āmirah* on the authority of a pupil of his that he died in 1004/1595-6. According to the *Mir'āt i jahān-numā*, however, he died in 1006/1597-8 and according to the *Tabaqāt i Shāh-Jahānī* in 1024/1615. According to Bakhtāwar Sing'h's Urdu *Tārīkh i Badāyūn* (quoted by Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.* 38, Pt. i (1869) p. 143) his grave is at 'Atāpūr near Badā'ūn.

The works with which 'Abd al-Qādir's name is associated as author, epitomator, translator or collaborator are the following :

(1) *Kitāb al-aḥādīth* (a chronogram = 978/1570-1), a collection of forty traditions on the merit of waging war. Presented to Akbar in 986/1578 (see *M. al-t.* ii p. 255), but now apparently lost. (2) *Nāmah i khirad-afzā* (a chronogram = 989/1581), a translation of the *Sing'hāsan battīsī* undertaken by Akbar's order in 982/1574 and begun immediately with the help of a pandit designated by Akbar (*M. al-t.* ii pp. 183-4). The date indicated by the chronogram is puzzling and is not explained by 'Abd al-Qādir's further statement (*M. al-t.* i 67) that he translated this work first in 982 and again in 1003. Several Persian translations of this work are extant, but none of them seems to be definitely identifiable with 'Abd al-Qādir's. (3) *Razm-nāmah*, a translation of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken by Akbar's order in 990/1582 (*M. al-t.* ii p. 319). In this enterprise 'Abd al-Qādir had only a small share, being associated with Naqīb Khān (for whom see p. 118, n. 1, *supra*) for three or four months during which a translation of two of the eighteen *parvas* was produced. For manuscripts of this translation see Rieu i 57, Ethé 1928-46,



Bodleian 1306-12 etc. (4) *Tarjamah i kitāb i Rāmāyan*, a translation or abridgment of the *Rāmāyaṇa* undertaken by Akbar's order in 992/1584, completed in four years and submitted to Akbar in 997/1589 (*M. al-t.* ii 336, 366). (5) *Tārīkh i alfī*. The part taken by 'Abd al-Qādir in the compilation of this history has already been mentioned (pp. 119-20 *supra*). (6) *Najāt al-rashīd* (a chronogram = 999/1590-1), described by Blochmann as a polemical work and by Ivanow as "a Sufico-ethical treatise, richly interspersed with interesting historical anecdotes, controversial discussions, etc." It contains *inter alia* an account of the Mahdawī sect. 'Abd al-Qādir makes a passing reference to this work in *M. al-t.* ii p. 208. For a manuscript see Ivanow 1263. (7) *Tarjamah i Tārīkh i Kashmīr*. In 999/1590 by Akbar's order he re-wrote and abridged a translation made for Akbar by Mullā Shāh-Muḥammad Shāhābādī of a history of Kashmīr [probably the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*]. *M. al-t.* ii p. 374. (8) *Tarjamah i Mu'jam al-buldān*. In 999/1590 he was one of ten or twelve persons, both 'Irāqīs and Indians, who collaborated in a translation of Yāqūt's geographical dictionary. He completed his portion, one twentieth of the whole, in one month (*M. al-t.* ii p. 375). This translation does not seem to be preserved. (9) *Intikhāb i Jāmi' i Rashīdī*. In 1000/1591-2 he was instructed by Akbar to epitomise the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*, evidently the Arabic version (see p. 75 *supra*), since he speaks of translating from Arabic. The words in which he describes the result of his labours (*M. al-t.* ii p. 384) suggest that he epitomised only a part of the work. (10) *Baḥr al-asmār*. In 1003/1595 he was ordered to complete the *Baḥr al-asmār*, a fragmentary translation of a "Hindī" (i.e. no doubt Sanskrit) tale (*afsānah*)<sup>1</sup> made for the Sultān Zain al-'Ābidīn of Kashmīr (A.H. 820-872). In five months he translated the last volume (*jild i akhīr*) of this work and then received instructions to modernise the old Persian of the earlier translation (*jild i awwal*). When he wrote about

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the *Kathā-sarīt-sūgara*. The India Office manuscript Ethé 1987 seems to be a copy of 'Abd al-Qādir's translation. It is clear from the words of the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* that the title *Baḥr al-asmār* belonged to the earlier translation and was not given by 'Abd al-Qādir, as stated in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.



this in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* (ii pp. 401-2) he was hoping to finish the work in two or three months.

In 983/1575-6 he had taken part in the unsuccessful attempt to produce a translation of the *At'harva Vēdu* (*M. al-t.* ii p. 212).

*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, often called *Tārīkh i Badā'ūnī*, a history of India from the time of Subuktigīn A.H. 367/997-8 to A.H. 1004/1595-6, the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, followed by short biographies of contemporary *shaikhs*, scholars, physicians and poets (the notices of the last being based on the *Nafā'is al-ma'āthir* of "Kāmī"): **Bloch** i 534 (A.H. 1132/1719-20), **Bānkīpūr** vii 536 (A.H. 1141/1729), **Bodleian** 192 (A.H. 1143/1730), 193 (n.d.), 194 (part ii only (i.e. Akbar's reign with the biographies of saints and poets). A.H. 1219/1804), **Ethé** 234 (vol. i only. A.H. 1159/1746), 233 (n.d.), **Rieu** i 222b (18th cent.), 223a (18th cent.), iii 906b (circ. A.D. 1850), 906b (extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1030b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Ivanow** 119 (A.H. 1255/1839-40), 118 (early 13th cent. H.), 120 (13th/19th cent.), 121 (Akbar's reign etc. A.H. 1267/1850-1), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 254 no. 197, **Aumer** 247 (apparently, to judge from the opening words. History of India from A.H. 923/1517 (accession of Ibrāhīm Lōdī) to A.H. 1002/1593-4 (Akbar's 39th regnal year) with appendix on the contemporary *shaikhs*), **Berlin** 469, **Browne** Suppt. 1252 (King's 77), **Eton** 162.

Abridgment made in 1049/1639-40 by Ṭahmāsp-Qulī: **Berlin** 470.

Editions: **Calcutta** 1864-9°\* (edited by Aḥmad 'Alī, Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, and W. Nassau Lees. Bibliotheca Indica), **Lucknow** 1868°\*.

English translation: *Muntakhabu-t-tawārīkh* by 'Abdu-l-Qādir ibn i Mulūk Shāh known as al-Badā'ōnī [sic] translated . . . [vol. i [from the beginning of the work to Humāyūn's death] by G. S. A. Ranking, **Calcutta** 1895-9°\*, vol. ii [Akbar's reign] by W. H. Lowe, **Calcutta** 1884-98°\*, reprinted 1924\*, vol. iii [biographies of saints, poets etc.] by T. W. Haig, **Calcutta** 1899-1925°\*. Bibliotheca Indica].

Condensed translation by W. Erskine: B.M. MS. Add. 26,609.



Translated extracts : (1) Elliot *Bibliographical index*, Calcutta 1849\*, pp. 227-58. (2) *The Emperor Akbar's repudiation of Eslām and profession of his own religion, called "Tovohhyd Elahy Akbar Shahy" or "Akbar Shah's Divine Monotheism"*. Consisting of passages from the *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh* of Abd al-Qādir bin-i Malūk Shah Al-Badāuni. Translated by E. Rehatsek. **Bombay** 1866°. (3) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v 485-549 (translated by H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson). (4) [Extracts relating to Akbar's reign translated by J. Leyden] B.M. MS. Add. 26,601.

The passages relating to Akbar's new religion were summarised by H. H. Wilson in an article entitled *Account of the religious innovations attempted by Akbar*, which he contributed to the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, Calcutta, 1824, vol. i, pt. i, pp. 49-62 and which was reprinted in *Works by the late Horace Hayman Wilson*, vol. ii, London 1862, pp. 379-400.

Descriptions : (1) Elliot *Bibliographical index*, pp. 219-26. (2) H. Blochmann *Badāonī and his works* (in *J.A.S.B.* 38 (1869), pt. i, pp. 105-44).

[Autobiographical statements in the *Muntakhab al-tawārikh* (some, not by any means all, of these are collected in the 16-page biography prefixed to vol. iii of the Calcutta edition and a few are translated in Elliot's *Bibliographical index* and *History of India*); *Tabaqāt i Akbarī* ii p. 468; *Ā'in i Akbarī* tr. Blochmann i 104 (translation of the *Mahābhārata*), 104 n. 2 (a brief biography by Blochmann), 547 (merely his name in the list of scholars); *Mir'āt al-'ālam* (quoted in *M. al-t.* iii, preface, p. 12 foll.); *Khizānah i 'āmirah* p. 323, no. 79; H. Blochmann *Badāonī and his works* (in *J.A.S.B.* 38 (1869), pt. i, pp. 105-44); Rieu i 222, iii 1082b ad 222; Raḥmān 'Alī 130; *Ency. Isl.* under Badā'ūnī; Bānkīpūr vii pp. 6-8.]

615. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, who died in 1052/1642, has already been mentioned as the author of the *Sharḥ Sufar al-sa'ādah* (p. 181 *supra*), the *Madārij al-nubuwwah* (p. 194 *supra*), the *Aḥwāl i A'immaḥ i Ithnā-'ashar* (p. 214 *supra*) and the *Jadhb al-qulūb ilā diyār al-maḥbūb* (p. 427 *supra*).



*Dhikr al-mulūk*, or *Tārīkh i Haqqī*, completed A.H. 1005/1596-7, a concise history of India from the time of Mu'izz al-Dīn M. b. Sām to that of Akbar based on the *Tabaqāt i Nāṣirī*, the *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* (of Baranī), the *Tārīkh i Bahādur-Shāhī* and, for the period from Buhlūl Lōdī onwards, on oral tradition and personal observation : **Bānkipūr** vii 537 (A.H. 1023/1614), **Bodleian** 195 (with a continuation (little more than dates) to A.H. 1044/1634. Old), 196 (with the same continuation), 197 (n.d.), 198 (A.H. 1039/1629), **Rieu** ii 855b (A.H. 1066/1656), 823 (A.H. 1129/1717), i 223b (a later and enlarged recension. A.H. 1136/1724), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 224 no. 612 (29th year of Aurangzēb), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 81 (A.H. 1221/1807), **R.A.S.** P. 60 = Morley 47.

Description, 5 pp. of extracts and translated extract of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  pp. : Elliot *Bibliographical index to the historians of Muhammedan India* pp. 273-80, and (Arabic pagination) 60-4.

Description and translated extract of 2 pp. : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 175-81.

616. **Nūr al-Haqq** al-Mashriqī al-Dihlawī al-Bukhārī was the son of 'Abd al-Haqq Dihlawī, whose *Dhikr al-mulūk* or *Tārīkh i Haqqī* has just been mentioned and whom he succeeded as a religious teacher at Delhi. In Shāh-Jahān's time he became Qādī at Akbarābād (i.e. Āgrah). He died at Delhi in 1073/1662 at the age of ninety. Among his works were a Persian commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī entitled *Taisīr al-qārī fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (see Brockelmann 1st Suppt. p. 263 no. 31), a Persian commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim entitled *Manba' al-'ilm fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* revised and enlarged by his son Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥibb Allāh (see Brockelmann 1st Suppt. p. 266 no. 13) and a commentary on "Khusrau's" *Qirān al-sa'dain* entitled *Nūr al-'ain fī sharḥ Qirān al-sa'dain* (see Rieu ii 617b, Ivanow Curzon 220, Sprenger 330).

*Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, a general history of India from Mu'izz al-Dīn M. b. Sām to the accession of Jahāngīr (A.H. 1014/1605), being a much enlarged edition and continuation of his father's history : **Bloch** i 535 (A.H. 1068/1657-8), iv 2324 (A.H. 1104/



1692-3), **Lindesiana** p. 207 no. 384 (A.H. 1082/1671-2), **Rieu** i 224b (17th cent.), ii 821b (portion only. 17th cent.), 906b (17th cent.), iii 1039b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Browne** Suppt. 733 (A.H. 1118/1706-7. Corpus 220), **Berlin** 471 (A.H. 1197/1783), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 242 no. 160, **Ethé** 290.

Extracts : Elliot *Bibliographical index*, *Muntakhabāt* pp. 65-8.

Translations of extracts : (1) Elliot *Bibliographical index* pp. 283-96. (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 184-94.

Descriptions : (1) Elliot *Bibliographical index* pp. 281-97. (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 182-4.

[*ʿAmal i Ṣāliḥ* (B.M. MS. Add. 26,221 = Rieu i 263, fol. 692b, i.e. the 19th leaf from the end of the work) ; *Mirʾāt al-ʿālam* (B.M. MS. Add. 7657 = Rieu i 125b, fol. 455a, i.e. the 43rd leaf from the end) ; *Subḥat al-marjān* 53 ; *Farḥat al-nāẓirīn* (passage quoted in *Oriental College Magazine* iv no. 4 (Aug. 1928) pp. 58-9) ; *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ* ii 356 ; *Ithāf al-nubalāʾ* 426 ; Rieu i 224b ; *Hadāʾiq al-Ḥanafīyah* 418 ; Raḥmān ʿAlī 246 ; *Ency. Isl.* under Dihlawī.]

617. M. Qāsim Hindū-Shāh<sup>1</sup> Astarābādī known as (*al-mashhūr bi-*) **Firishtah**, as he calls himself in the *Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī*, or M. Qāsim surnamed (*al-mulaqqab bi-*) Hindū-Shāh known as (*al-mashhūr bi-*) Firishtah, as he calls himself in the *Dastūr al-aṭibbāʾ*, was the son of Ghulām-ʿAlī Hindū-Shāh [see Bombay ed. ii p. 449, [Lucknow] ed. ii p. 120]. Neither the date nor the place of his birth seems to be known.<sup>2</sup> On reaching years

<sup>1</sup> Not M. Qāsim ibn Hindū Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> The two biographies of Firishtah by General Briggs contain a number of unsupported statements which are not easily verified from his own abridged and unindexed translation and from the equally unindexed editions of the Persian text, the sole source of information. [The Urdu translation published by the Osmania University has an index in the first volume but not in the other three !] Mohl is more scientific in giving references to the Persian text, but he, like several later writers, repeats unevidenced statements from Briggs. Firishtah, says Mohl, following Briggs, "était né à Asterabad dans le Mazenderan," and he gives a reference to vol. i, p. 4, where the only reference to Astarābād is the *nisbah* Astarābādī appended to Firishtah's name. This, of course, does not prove that he was born at Astarābād. According to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* Firishtah was "born 960 = 1552", but no evidence



of discretion Firishtah entered the service of Murtaḍā Nizām-Shāh<sup>1</sup> (ruler of Aḥmad-nagar A.H. 972/1565–996/1588<sup>2</sup>), and it was at Aḥmadnagar that, while still in the prime of youth,<sup>3</sup> he conceived the idea of writing a history of the Islāmic kings and saints of India. At Aḥmadnagar, however, he was unable to obtain all the historical works that he desired and so his project had to be deferred. When the Prime Minister Mīrzā Khān<sup>4</sup> (Sultān Ḥusain Sabzawārī) plotted with Dilāwar Khān, Regent of Bījāpūr, to depose Murtaḍā Nizām-Shāh in favour of his son Mīrān Ḥusain and mobilised an army ostensibly to defend the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar against the forces of Bījāpūr, which by arrangement had assembled on the frontier, Firishtah was sent by the king to find out what was really happening.<sup>5</sup> Mīrzā Khān, knowing that Firishtah's loyalty to the king would cause him to make a true report, intended, when

is produced, and no such statement is found in the authorities mentioned in the bibliography, though they do contain conjectural and approximate dates. Among the assertions of Briggs and his followers for which they cite no evidence are the following: (1) His father, "quitting his native country, travelled into India and eventually reached Ahmudnuggur in the Deccan, during the reign of Moortuza Nizam Shah" [acc. to *Ency. Isl.* Firishtah "was brought to Aḥmadnagar as a child in the reign of Ḥusain Nizām Shāh I"], (2) Firishtah "states that he had only attained his twelfth year when he reached Ahmudnuggur", (3) "Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah... was selected, on account of his erudition, to instruct the Prince Meeran Hoossein in the Persian language", (4) "it seems probable that the former [i.e. Firishtah's father] died at Ahmudnuggur not long after his arrival there. Ferishta was [sic!] thus left an orphan in his youth". Mohl's statement that Firishtah was at one time in Badakhshān is based on a misconception. The reference to Badakhshān occurs in a quotation from the *Tārīkh i Rashīdī*. It was Mīrzā Hajdar, not Firishtah, who was at one time in Badakhshān.

<sup>1</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 253 penult., [Lucknow] ed. of 1281/1864, ii p. 130, l. 6 : *dar 'ahd i farkhundah i ān shāh i Jam-jāh bah sinn i rushd u tamīz rasīdah dar silk i naukarān muntazīm gardīd*. Not in Briggs's translation.

<sup>2</sup> 994/1586 according to *Ency. Isl.* under Nizām-Shāh, but Firishtah gives the date of his death as 18 Rajab 996.

<sup>3</sup> *dar 'unfuwān i jawānī*, Bombay ed. i p. 4, ll. 5–6, Lucknow ed. i p. 3 penult., Briggs's trans. i p. xlvii.

<sup>4</sup> Mohl consistently calls this person Mīhrāb Khān.

<sup>5</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 286, l. 9, Lucknow ed. ii p. 146, l. 15, Briggs's translation iii p. 267, *Journal des savants* 1840, p. 214 (where Mohl gives a detailed account of these events).



he joined the army a little later, to arrest Firishtah, but the latter was warned by a friend and managed to escape on a dromedary. He disclosed the plot to the king and, on being asked for his advice, made certain recommendations. Yielding to the persuasion of a disloyal favourite, the king decided to remain in the palace, contrary to Firishtah's advice. Hearing of this, the troops who had remained loyal lost heart and left Ahmadnagar to join Mīrzā Khān. Firishtah, who was apparently captain of the palace guard<sup>1</sup> or something of that kind, and five or six others were all who remained in the palace with the king. Not long afterwards Mīrzā Khān and Mīrān Husain with thirty or forty ruffians entered the palace and Firishtah would have been killed if Mīrān Husain had not recognised him and, respecting his claims as a school-fellow,<sup>2</sup> spared his life.

The deposition and murder of Mīrān Husain Nizām-Shāh after a reign of only ten months led to xenophobic disturbances and a massacre from which few "foreigners" (*gharībān*, i.e. non-Dakanīs, and their descendants, *gharīb-zādahā*) escaped, and these, less than 300 in number, were expelled to Bījāpūr on the "Īd i Ramadān" 997/1589. Through the influence of Dilāwar Khān, Regent during the minority of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh II, they were given appointments, and on 19 Ṣafar 998/28 Dec. 1589 Firishtah was presented at court and entered the government service at Bījāpūr.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rāqim i hurūf rā kih ba-muḥāfazat i darbār ishtighāl dāsh̄t ān-rūz ba-ḥudūr i aqdas ṭalabīdah ba-mukālamah i sharīf sar-afrāz sākht*, Bombay ed. ii p. 287 ult., Lucknow ed. ii p. 147, l. 6, Briggs's trans. iii p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Shāh-zādah bandah rā shinākhtah u nisbat i ham-maktabī manzūr dāsh̄tah mānī' i kushtan shud u marā ham-rāh i khwud bālā-yi 'Imārat i Baghdād burdah* etc., Bombay ed. ii p. 288, ll. 9-10, Lucknow ed. ii p. 147, l. 13, Briggs's translation iii p. 269. Firishtah tells us that Mīrān Husain on his accession was sixteen years old. Firishtah, to judge from the part played by him in these events, must have been at least several years older. The word *ham-maktabī* in this context seems to be the basis for General Briggs's imaginative statement that "Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah, the father of Ferishta, was selected, on account of his erudition, to instruct the Prince Meeran Hoossein in the Persian language".

<sup>3</sup> *u rāqim i hurūf nīz dar nūzdahum i Ṣafar sanah i thamān wa-tis'īn wa-tis'-mi'ah az Ahmadnagar bah Bījāpūr āmadah ba-wasāṭat i Dilāwar Khān ba-sharaf i āstānah-būsī i shāh i 'adālat-gustar musharraf gardīd u dar silk i naukarān u*



At the end of Rabī' al-Awwal 998/1590 Burhān Nizām-Shāh, desiring to obtain the throne of Aḥmadnagar, then occupied by his son, Ismā'il, sent messengers to Firishtah with an autograph *parwānah* asking him to place before the King of Bījāpūr some letters appealing for support. Firishtah took the messengers to Dilāwar Khān, the Regent, who submitted the letters to the king and obtained his consent to a campaign.<sup>1</sup> In a battle which ensued between Dilāwar Khān and Jamāl Khān, the dictator of Aḥmadnagar, Firishtah was wounded and after fleeing to Dārāsang fell into the hands of Jamāl Khān but escaped by a stratagem.<sup>2</sup> In Rajab of the same year he was among those who accompanied the king on the night journey against Dilāwar Khān, which resulted in the latter's fall and flight to Bīdar.<sup>3</sup>

In Ṣafar 1013/July 1604 Firishtah accompanied the palanquin of Bēgam Sultān, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh's daughter, from Bījāpūr to Paithan on the Gōdāvarī, where she was married to Akbar's son Dāniyāl, and thence to Burhānpūr, where Dāniyāl died a few months later.<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign (A.H. 1014/1605–1037/1628) Firishtah was sent to Lahore by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh for a purpose which is not specified.<sup>5</sup> In 1023/1614 he visited the fortress of Asīr,<sup>6</sup> and he was still alive

*mulāzimān i ū intizām yāftah tā yaum al-tahrīr az khāk-rūbān i ān 'atabah i 'alīyah ast*, Bombay ed. ii p. 295, l. 8, Lucknow ed. ii p. 150 antepenult., Briggs's trans. iii p. 277. Cf. Bombay ed. i p. 4, l. 11, ii p. 120, l. 5, Lucknow ed. i p. 4, l. 3, ii p. 62, l. 9, Briggs's trans. i p. xlvii (the passage occurring in vol. ii p. 120, l. 5 of the Bombay edition is omitted by Briggs). In the last passage Firishtah says that he received his appointment on the 1st of Rabī' al-Awwal.

<sup>1</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 120, Lucknow ed. ii p. 62. Not in Briggs's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 124, ll. 4, 11, Lucknow ed. ii p. 64, ll. 7, 11, Briggs's trans. iii p. 164, ll. 4, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 126 ult., Lucknow ed. ii p. 65, l. 18, Briggs's trans. iii p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 543, l. 12 (cf. i p. 516, l. 11), Lucknow ed. ii p. 277, l. 14 (cf. i p. 271, l. 21), Briggs's trans. iv p. 284 (cf. ii p. 279).

<sup>5</sup> Bombay ed. i p. 230 antepenult.: *Musawwid i in aurāq M.Q.F. chūn dar awā'il i 'ahd i Nūr al-Dīn M. Jahāngīr Pādshāh az jānib i sultān i 'aṣr Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh ba-baldah i Lāhaur rasīdah az ba'd i mardum i ān-jā . . . istifsār i aṣl u nasab u dūdman i Tughluq-Shāhī numūd*, Lucknow ed. i p. 130, ll. 6–8, Briggs's trans. i p. 401.

<sup>6</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 567, l. 7, Lucknow ed. ii p. 290, ll. 26–7. Not in Briggs's translation.



in 1033/1623-4, if the record of the death of Bahādur Khān Fārūqī at Āgrah in that year<sup>1</sup> was not inserted in his history by a later hand.

As Firishtah tells us in two places,<sup>2</sup> he was encouraged in the writing of his history by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh, who on an occasion when he was presented at court by Shāh-nawāz Khān (Khwājah Sa'd al-Dīn 'Ināyat-Allāh Shīrāzī) gave him a copy of the *Raudat al-safā* (for which see p. 92 *supra*) and instructed him to write a history of India which should be an improvement upon the very concise and, especially in matters relating to the Deccan, inadequate history of Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī. He also received much encouragement from Shāh-nawāz Khān.<sup>3</sup> Firishtah wrote also an exposition of the Indian system of medicine, entitled *Dastūr al-aṭibbā* and often called *Ikhtiyārāt i Qāsimī*, which is extant in many manuscripts (e.g. Rieu Suppt. 160, Ethé 2318-24, cf. Fonahn *Zur Quellenkunde der persischen Medizin* pp. 22-3).

*Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī*, usually called *Tārīkh i Firishtah*, a general history of India dedicated to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh and existing in two slightly different recensions, the first dated (in the preface) 1015/1606-7, the second, with a new title, *Tārīkh i Nauras-nāmah*, 1018/1609-10 (both contain later insertions),<sup>4</sup> both divided into a *muqaddimah* (on the beliefs of the Hindus, their early *rājahs* and the coming of Islām to India), twelve *maqālahs* ((1) the Ghaznawids of Lahore, (2) the Sultāns of Delhi, (3) the Deccan in six *raudahs* ((i) Bahmanids, (ii) 'Ādil-Shāhs, (iii) Nizām-Shāhs, (iv) Qutb-Shāhs, (v) 'Imād-Shāhs, (vi) Barīdīs), (4) Gujrāt, (5) Mālwah, (6) Burhānpūr, (7) Bengal (including the Sharqīs of Jaunpūr), (8) Sind, Tattah and Multān,

<sup>1</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 568, Lucknow ed. ii p. 291 ult. Not in Briggs's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Bombay ed. i p. 4, ii p. 153 penult., Lucknow ed. i p. 4, ii p. 79, Briggs's trans. i p. xlvii (the second passage is not translated by Briggs).

<sup>3</sup> Bombay ed. ii p. 151, l. 6, Lucknow ed. ii p. 77, l. 23 (not translated by Briggs).

<sup>4</sup> The Bombay and Lucknow editions have the date 1015 and the title *Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī* in the preface, but they contain the later dates 1018 (described as the current year Bombay ed. i p. 104, l. 12, Lucknow ed. i p. 60, l. 4, ii p. 177), 1023 (Bombay ed. i p. 693, l. 16, p. 724, l. 2, ii p. 77, antepenult., p. 567, l. 7, Lucknow ed. i p. 358, l. 5, p. 373, l. 11, ii p. 41, l. 17, p. 290, l. 26) and 1033 (Bombay ed. ii p. 568, l. 7, Lucknow ed. ii p. 291 ult.).



(9) the Samagān or Zamīndārs of Sind (the Jām and Arghūn dynasties and the Sultāns of Multān), (10) Kashmīr, (11) Malabar, (12) Indian saints) and a *khātimah* (a short description of India) : **Ethé** 296 (defective and damaged. A.H. 1042/1633), 291 (A.H. 1058/1648), 292 (A.H. 1141/1728-9 and 1163/1750), 293 (A.H. 1176/1762), 294 (*Nauras-nāmah* [?]. N.d.), 295 (apparently *Nauras-nāmah*. N.d.), 297-301 (five incomplete copies), **Rieu** i 226b-227a (defective, breaking off near the beginning of *Maqālah* xi (Malabar). 2 vols. in the same hand, the first dated A.H. 1048/1639), 225a (18th cent.), 227a (A.H. 1209/1795), 227a (*Nauras-nāmah*. Late 17th cent.), 227b (*Nauras-nāmah*. Lacunæ. 17th cent.), 227b (*Nauras-nāmah*. A.D. 1779), 228a (from Akbar to beginning of *Raudah* 6. 18th cent.), 228a (*Maqālah* iii only. 19th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 141 nos. 378-9 (circ. A.H. 1079/1668-9), 826 (circ. A.D. 1760), 380 ("Parts i. ii. and iii. only." Circ. A.D. 1810), **Aumer** 236 (*Nauras-nāmah*? A.H. 1087/1676-7), **Blochet** i 536 (late 17th cent.), 537-9 (lacuna. A.H. 1164/1750-1), 540 (fragments. 18th cent.), **Berlin** 465 (*Nauras-nāmah*. A.H. 114 = 1114/1703 [?]), 462-3 (A.H. 1212/1797-1214/1800), 464 (A.H. 1208/1793), 466 (defective at both ends and elsewhere), 467 (vol. i, defective), 468 (part of *Maqālah* iii only), **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A.I. 9 (*Muqaddimah* and *Maqālahs* i-ii. A.H. 1139/1727), **Leningrad** Asiat. Mus. (A.H. 1146/1733. See *Mélanges asiatiques* iii (1859) p. 499. For another MS. see *Mélanges asiatiques* vi (1873) p. 124), **R.A.S.** P. 61 = Morley 48, P. 62 = Morley 49 (A.H. 1147/1734-5), P. 63 = Morley 50 (defective. A.H. 1159/1746), P. 64 = Morley 51 (*Muqaddimah* (part) and *Maqālahs* i-ii), P. 65 = Morley 52 (*Muqaddimah* and *Maqālahs* i-ii), **Ivanow** 138 (2nd half of *Maqālah* ii. A.H. 1147/1734-5), 135 (early 12th/18th cent.), 136 (late 12th/18th cent.), 137 (*Maqālahs* i-ii. 12th/18th cent.), 139 (*Maqālah* iv. Late 12th/18th cent.), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 82 (*Maqālahs* i-ii), 83 (vol. ii (i.e. *Maqālah* iii, *Raudah* 2 to the end of the work). A.H. 1152/1739-40), Suppt. 1100-2 (3 copies. Christ's), 1103 (A.H. 1198/1783-4. King's), **Edinburgh** 200 (vol. i. Not later than A.H. 1178/1764-5), **Vollers** 977, 978 (vol. i), 979 (vol. ii. A.H. 1246/1830-1), 980 (A.H. 1208/1793-4), **Rehatsek** p. 90 nos. 33-5 (A.H. 1222/1806-7), 36 (*Muntakhab az Tawārīkh i Firishtah* (most of *Maqālah*



iii apparently). A.H. 1243/1827), **Bombay Univ.** 17 (vol. i. A.H. 1256/1841), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 228 no. 704 (A.H. 1257/1841), iii p. 96 nos. 998, 1074, 1233 (the last dated A.H. 1160/1747), **Bānkipūr** vii 538-9 (19th cent.), **Bodleian** 217 (*Muqaddimah* and *Maqālahs* i-ii), **Caetani** 71, **Dresden** 376 (vol. i).

Editions : *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, **Bombay (and Poonah)** 1831-2°\*<sup>1</sup> (edited by Major-General J. Briggs and Mīr Khairāt 'Alī Khān "Mushtāq". Some of the copies have also an English title-page : *Tarikh-i-Ferishta, or History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India, till the year A.D. 1612, by Mahomed Kasim Ferishta . . . edited and collated from various manuscript copies . . . by Major-General J. Briggs . . . assisted by Mir Kheirat Ali Khan Mushtak*), [**Lucknow**], Nawal Kishore, 1281/1864-5°, **Cawnpore** 1290/1874\*, 1884\*.

Extracts : (1) [*Maqālah* xi (Malabar) with English translation by Anderson] *The Asiatick Miscellany*, vol. ii (**Calcutta** 1786) pp. 278- .<sup>2</sup> (2) Elliot *Bibliographical index*, *Muntakhabāt*, pp. 76-84.

English translation [somewhat abridged] of the whole work except *Maqālah* xii : *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India, till the year A.D. 1612. Translated from the . . . Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, by J. Briggs. To which is added, an account of the conquest, by the Kings of Hyderabad, of those parts of the Madras Provinces denominated the Ceded Districts and Northern Circars.* **London** 1829°\*, **Calcutta** 1908-10°\*.

Urdu translation by M. Fidā-'Alī "Tālib" (with a few brief notes by S. Hāshimī Farīdābādī) : **Haidarābād** 1926-32\* (Osmania University Press. 4 vols., containing apparently the whole work except the lives of the saints. Only vol. i contains an index).

Translations of extracts : (1) [*Maqālahs* i and ii only] *The history of Hindostan, from the earliest account of time to the death*

<sup>1</sup> 1831 is the date given on the English title-page. In the Persian colophon the date of completion is said to be the last day of December 1832 [sic] corresponding to the 27th of Rajab 1247. The 27th of Rajab 1247 was the 1st of January 1832.

<sup>2</sup> The I.O. copy of vol. ii is defective, ending with p. 124.



of Akbar ; translated from the Persian of Mahumud Casim Ferishta . . . together with a dissertation concerning the religion and philosophy of the Brahmins. With an appendix containing the history of the Mogul Empire from its decline in the reign of Mahumud Shau to the present time. By A. Dow. 2 vols. **London** 1768°, 1770-2°\* (2nd ed., enlarged. With a third volume containing *The history of Hindostan from the death of Akbar to the . . . settlement of the empire under Aurungzebe* [compiled from various writers] . . . *A dissertation on the origin and nature of despotism in Hindostan . . . An enquiry into the state of Bengal . . . By A. Dow*), 1792 (3rd ed. See Morley, p. 67, n. 4), 1803 (4th ed. See Morley *ibid.*), 1812\* ("New edition"). (2) [*Maqālah* xi (Malabar)] see above under Extracts (1). (3) [*Maqālah* iii (the Deccan)] *Ferishta's History of Dekkan, from the first Mahummedan conquests : with a continuation from other native writers* [or rather, from Bhīm Sēn's *Dil-kushā* in abridged translation] of the events in that part of India to the reduction of its last monarchs by the Emperor Aulumgeer Aurungzebe ; also, the reigns of his successors in the empire of Hindostan to the present day [translated from the Memoirs of Irādat Khān and other works] : and the history of Bengal, from the accession of Aliverdee Khan to the year 1780 [translated as far as the death of 'Alī-Wirdī Khān "from a Persian manuscript" (see p. 717 *infra*) and thereafter from the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* of Ghulām-Husain Khān]. Comprised in six parts. [Translated] By Jonathan Scott. **Shrewsbury** 1794°\*, **London** 1800 (2nd ed. See Morley p. 67, n. 6), **London** n.d. [?] (3 vols. 8vo. See Morley *ibid.*). (4) [Extracts from Briggs's translation] Elliot *Bibliographical index* pp. 322-36. (5) [The same extracts] Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 218-36. (6) [The *Muqaddimah*] Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 532-69.

Descriptions : (1) J. Mohl in *Journal des savants*, 1840, pp. 212-26, 354-72, 392-403. (2) Elliot *Bibliographical index* pp. 310-39. (3) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 207-36. (4) *Ency. Isl.* under *Firishta*.

[Autobiographical statements in the *Gulshan i Ibrāhīmī*,



Briggs's translation, 1829 ed., vol. i pp. xxxix–xlvi (unsatisfactory, since there are no precise references to the translation, which, moreover, omits some of the author's allusions to himself); J. Briggs *Essay on the life and writings of Ferishta* (in *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii (1830) pp. 341–61); J. Mohl in *Journal des savants* 1840 pp. 212–20 (contains references to the Bombay text); Elliot *Bibliographical index* pp. 310–13 (based on Briggs and Mohl); Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 207–9 (a repetition of the preceding); Morley pp. 63–4; Rieu i 225; Bānkīpūr vii 538; *Ency. Isl.* under *Firishta* (some conjectures are stated here as facts. No precise references).]

618. An anonymous author<sup>1</sup> compiled from *Firishtah* and other histories a

*Tārīkh i rājahā* (or *hākīmān*) *i Hind* (beg. *Dar mu'taqadāt i ahl i Hind*), a sketch of Indian history in twelve *maqālahs* corresponding to those of *Firishtah*: **Ethé** 303 (A.H. 1149/1736), 304 (n.d.).

619. **M. Sharīf al-Najafī** (Ḥanafī acc. to Elliot and Dowson) was born in the Deccan. In an official capacity he visited Gujrāt, Mālwah, Ajmēr, Delhi, Agra, the Panjāb, Sind, and Kashmīr, the last in 1031/1621–2 in the train of Jahāngīr and under the command of Qāsim Khān.

*Majālis al-salātīn*, a brief history of the kings of Delhi, the Deccan and Kashmīr, completed A.H. 1038/1628–9: **Rieu** iii 906b (circ. A.D. 1850).

Extracts (chiefly on Kashmīr) translated by a *munshī*: **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,779, foll. 92–102.

Description and 4½ pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii 134–140.

620. Banwālī or Banwālī-Dās “**Wali**”, who is sometimes

<sup>1</sup> **Ethé** gives 1018/1609–10 as the date of compilation, but presumably the passage where 1018 is mentioned as the current year is a quotation from *Firishtah*.



called Walī Rām,<sup>1</sup> was a *munshī* under Shāh-Jahān's eldest son Dārā-Shukōh and received instruction in Ṣūfism from Dārā-Shukōh's *pīr*, Mullā Shāh Badakhshī (for whom see p. 18 *supra*). His *Mathnawī* in six *wazns* (beginning *Qādirā az man manī bi-stān u bas*. See Ivanow Curzon 270, 462 (27), Sprenger no. 564) was written, in part at least, in 1054-5/1644-5, and his *Gulzār i ḥāl*, a translation of the Sanskrit drama *Prabod'ha Chandrōdaya*, in 1073/1662-3 (for MSS. see Rieu iii 1043, Ethé 1995-6, Ross and Browne 195, Eton 157. Editions : Bombay 1862\*, Lucknow 1877\*, 1887°). According to the editor's preface to the 1868 edition of his *dīwān* he died in 1085/1674-5.

An incomplete manuscript of his *dīwān*, containing *ghazals*, couplets, *rubā'īs* and part of the above-mentioned *Mathnawī*, is preserved at Calcutta (Ivanow Curzon 270). The *Dīwān i Walī* published at Lahore in 1868\* contains only *ghazals* (beginning, as in Ivanow Curzon 270, *Ganjī kih būd makhfi aknūn shud āshkārā*) and two pages of *rubā'īs*. According to the preface to that edition "Walī" wrote many works such as the *Muḥīt i ma'rifat* (a *mathnawī*), the *Gulzār i ḥāl*, a Hindī *dīwān* and a Persian *dīwān* entitled *Ganj i 'irfān*. The *Mathnawī i Walī Rām* published at Lahore in 1867\* by the same press as the afore-mentioned *Dīwān i Walī* and at Siyālkōṭ (though printed apparently at Gūjrānwālah) in [1876°\*] seems to differ considerably from the *mathnawī* described by Ivanow. It is divided into six *jilds* and begins *Mā zi-kufr u dīn hamah bi-gdhashtah im*. The third *jild* opens with the words given by Ivanow as the beginning of the third *wazn*. The King's College MS. no. 14 (Browne Suppt. 1446) is described as "A collection of five Persian tracts on Hindu religion, etc., viz. (1) *Kayān top-hī* in verse ; (2) *Rām Gītā* ; (3) *Miṣbāḥul-Hudā* ; (4) *Arjun Gītā* ;

<sup>1</sup> In the colophon of the Tōp-khānah MS. of the *Mathnawī i Walī Rām* (Sprenger no. 564) he is called Swāmī Walī Rām 'urf Bābā Banwālī-Dās. Other forms in which his names and designations occur are Banwālī-Das *al-mutakhallis bi-Walī munshī i Sultān Dārā-Shukōh* (colophon of B.M. MS. Rieu ii 855a), Banwālī Rām *mutakhallis ba-Walī* (editor's preface to the 1868 edition of the *dīwān*), Walī Rām Gōsā'in Dārā-Shukōhī (*Āsafiyah* i p. 240), etc. A *rubā'ī* which is quoted in the editor's preface but which does not occur in the body of the 1868 edition of the *dīwān* contains the words *Ism i badan-am nist ba-juz Banwālī Dar shī'r takhalluṣ-am Walī, ai Walī*.



(5) Discussion between Dārā Shukūh and Bábá Lál, all by Walí Rām, except No. 4, which is by Abu'l-faḍl ”.

The *Mathnawī i Walī Rām ma'rūf bah Chashmah i 'irfān* published at [Lucknow] in 1875°\* and at Rāwalpindī in [1890°†] begins *Ai shudah makhfī ba-kamāl i zuhūr* and consists of only a few pages (ten in the Lucknow edition).

*Rājāwalī*,<sup>1</sup> a short account of the Hindu *rājahs* of Delhi from Jud'hishtir to the invasion of Shihāb (Mu'izz) al-Dīn M. b. Sām followed by a tabulated list of the subsequent Muslim rulers to Shāh-Jahān (usually with continuations to later rulers such as Muḥammad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II): **Berlin** 14 (80) (earlier than A.H. 1154/1741-2),<sup>2</sup> **Ethé** 205 (n.d.), 206 (?) (late 18th cent.), **Bloch** i 551 (18th cent.), 552 (1) and (2) (two slightly different recensions. Late 18th cent.), **Rieu** ii 855a (A.H. 1208/1793), 916b (circ. A.D. 1850), 925a (A.D. 1849), **Lindesiana** p. 127 no. 451 (circ. A.D. 1840), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 240 nos. 519, 778, **Bodleian** 170 (n.d.), **Browne** Suppt. 644 (King's 198), 1458 (?) (Corpus 115<sup>2</sup>), **Leyden** iv p. 223 no. 1968, **Mehren** p. 18 no. 47.

[*Gul i ra'nā* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 133); other sources mentioned above.]

621. Rāy **Bindrāban**,<sup>3</sup> son of Rāy Bihārā-Mal,<sup>4</sup> was *Dīwān* to Shāh-'Ālam Bahādur-Shāh for a time before his accession.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is a Sanskrit word meaning “a line of kings”, “a royal dynasty or genealogy”. Rieu mentions (vol. iii, p. 916b) that according to Sujān Rāy [*Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, p. 7, ll. 1-2] the *Rājāwalī* was written originally in Hindī by Miṣr Bidyād'har and was translated into Persian by Sāhū Rām [Rieu writes Nibāhu Rām], a disciple of Walī Rām (*Nuskah i Rājāwalī kih Miṣr Bidyād'har asāmī i rājahā ba-khatt i Hinduwī nawishtah u ān rā Sāhū Rām khulāṣah i murīdān i Gusā'in Walī-Rām ba-'ibārat i marghūbah ba-Fārisī dar-āwardah*).

<sup>2</sup> Pertsch ascribes the work to M. Khalīl Allāh.

<sup>3</sup> Bindrāban Dās Bahādur-Shāhī is what Khāfī Khān calls him (vol. ii, p. 211 ult.).

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Tadhkirat al-umarā'* (B.M. MS. Add. 16,703, fol. 134, cited by Rieu i p. 228b) Bihārā-Mal, *Dīwān* to Dārā-Shukōh, received the title of Rāy in Shāh-Jahān's 20th regnal year and died in the 26th year.

<sup>5</sup> This is stated by a former owner of the B.M. MS. Add. 25,786 (*Lubb al-tawārīkh i Hind* = Rieu i 229b) in a note dated A.H. 1149/1736-7. Cf. Khāfī Khān ii p. 211 ult.-212<sup>1</sup>, where the word *Mutaṣaddī* is used, not *Dīwān*.



An inscription found at Elgandal Fort (in the Haidarābād State) seems to show that he was at one time Governor of that fort, "an important outpost on the north-east frontier of the Qutb-Shāhī kingdom" (see *Annual report of the Director-General of Archaeology in India*, 1920-1, p. 39). During the siege of Bijāpūr in 1095/1684 he was dismissed from the army by Aurangzēb on the ground that he was implicated in Shāh-Ālam's secret communication with the enemy (see *Khāfi Khān* ii p. 321).

*Lubb al-tawārīkh i Hind*, or, as in some MSS., *Lubb al-tawārīkh* simply, a concise history of India from Shihāb al-Dīn (Mu'izz al-Dīn) M. b. Sām (A.H. 572/1176-7) to A.H. 1101/1689-90, abridged mainly from *Firishtah* as far as A.H. 1000/1591-2, in ten *fasls* ((1) Delhi, (2) The Deccan, (3) Gujrāt, (4) Mālwah, (5) *Khāndēsh*, (6) Bengal, (7) Jaunpūr, (8) Sind, (9) Multān, (10) Kashmīr): **Rieu** i 228b (late 17th cent.), 229b (A.H. 1119/1707), 229b (A.H. 1149/1737), 229b (18th cent.), 229b (19th cent.), iii 907b (A.H. 1196/1782), 907b (extracts), 965b (extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Ethé** 358 (A.H. 1110/1698), 359 (A.H. 1131/1719), 360 (A.H. 1156/1743), 361 (extract), **I.O. D.P.** 715 (A.H. 1148/1735), **Mehren** 48 (A.H. 1144/1731), **Bloch** i 543 (late 18th cent.), **Ivanow** 161 (late 18th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 127 no. 430 (circ. A.D. 1820), **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 108 no. 1067 (date given as A.H. 1019 [!]), **Bodleian** 245 (defective at both ends), **Eton** 176, **Lahore** Panjab Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 46).

Description and 2½ pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii 168-73.

622. Munshī<sup>1</sup> **Sujān**<sup>2</sup> **Rāy** Bhandārī,<sup>3</sup> or Sujān Sing'h D'hīr,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Munshī al-manāshī* [sic] is the title prefixed to Sujān Rāy's name in the colophon of the I.O. MS. D.P. 637a. This is evidently the title which Rieu quotes in a corrupt form.

<sup>2</sup> Sujān, a Hindī word of Sanskrit origin meaning "well-informed, wise, intelligent", is probably the correct form of this author's name, though the *Ency. Isl.* appears, for some unexplained reason, to prefer the form Sanjān, which occurs in some of the colophons. Rieu points out that no less than three Sujān Sing'hs are mentioned in the *Tadhkirat al-umarā'* (cf. *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii pp. 291, 452). [For notes 3 and 4 see p. 454.]



whose name is mentioned in the text of some MSS.<sup>1</sup> of the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* and in some of the copyists' colophons, tells us that he was born at Baṭālah<sup>2</sup> (*Kh. al-t.* p. 71<sup>20</sup>) and that from his youth up he had been a *munshī* in the employ of officials (*Kh. al-t.*, preface). In the colophons of the B.M. MS. Add. 5559 (cf. Rieu i p. 230a) and the I.O. MS. 637a it is said that he was well-versed in the Hindī, Persian and Sanskrit 'ulūm. The latter colophon (perhaps also the former) says that he was *nādir al-'aṣr wa-'l-daurān* in calligraphy, *munshīgarī* and *ba-hamah ṣifat* (!). Another work of his, the *Khulāṣat al-inshā'*, was completed, according to Rieu, in 'Ālamgīr's 35th year, A.H. 1102-3 (cf. n. 4 on this page, where the date is given as 1105, perhaps by a misprint). Extracts from it are preserved in the British Museum (see Rieu iii p. 1017a). The *Khulāṣat al-makātīb*, "a rich collection of specimens of refined prose-style intermixed with verses, on all possible topics, by Sujān Singh or Sujān Rāi Munshī of Patyāla [sic]" (Ethé 2109), was written in 'Ālamgīr's 42nd year, A.H. 1110 (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. x no. 4 (Lahore, August 1934) pp. 66-7).

*Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, written in two years and completed in 1107/1695-6, Aurangzēb's fortieth regnal year, a history of India from the earliest times to Aurangzēb's

<sup>3</sup> This caste-title is a Hindī word meaning "store-keeper, steward, treasurer". In the corrupt colophon quoted from by Rieu it appears as "BHZĀRĪ".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JRAS.* 1895, p. 211, where the following statements are made in a letter from Qāḍī Taṣadduq Ḥusain, of Baṭālah: "... Sujān Singh, was a dhīr khatri... Among his writings there is also a book called *Khalāṣat* [sic] *al-Inshā'*, in which he describes the art of polite writing. This was written in 1105 *Hijri*. Some people also call him Sujān Rāi, but in both books he signs himself [sic] Sujān Singh Dhīr... The above information is derived from his books, for the inhabitants of Batāla of the *dhīr* caste know nothing about him."

<sup>1</sup> According to Rieu he "designates himself as Sujān Singh Dhīr" in the preface as given in the B.M. MS. Or. 1924 (Rieu iii p. 908a). Cf. Ivanow Curzon 32.

<sup>2</sup> The largest town in the Gūrdāspūr District of the Panjāb. Several of the colophons describe Sujān Rāy as a resident of Baṭālah.



accession <sup>1</sup>: **R.A.S.** P. 66 = Morley 53 (probably copied from a MS. written in 1130/1717), P. 67 = Morley 54 (A.H. 1223/1808), P. 68 = Morley 55 (A.H. 1239/1823), **Ivanow** 162 (A.H. 1140/1728), 163 (late 12th cent. H.), Curzon 32 (1194 *Faṣṭā*/1787), 33 (defective at both ends. Early 19th cent.), **Bodleian** 2354 (to end of Hindu Rājahs only. A.H. 1150/1737), 246 (A.D. 1816), MS. Pers. d. 28 ("recent"), **Rieu** iii 907b (A.H. 1161/1748), 907b (circ. A.D. 1850), 908a (to Buhlul Lōdī only. A.H. 1237/1821), i 230a (A.H. 1188/1774), 231a (A.H. 1164/1751), 231a (A.D. 1767), 231b (late 18th cent.), iii 1014b etc. (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Lindesiana** p. 217 no. 159 (circ. A.D. 1750), no. 122 (A.H. 1215/1800-1), no. 371 (circ. A.D. 1800), no. 821 (A.H. 1229/1814), **Edinburgh** 201 (A.H. 1175/1761), **Bloch** i 544 (A.H. 1180/1766-7), 545 (A.H. 1182/1768-9), 546 (with another preface containing the title *Tadhkirat al-salātīn*(?). Defective at end. 18th cent.), 547 (late 18th cent.), 548 (late 18th cent.), **Aumer** 237 (n.d.), 238 (Akbar to Aurangzēb only. A.D. 1792), **Ethé** 362 (A.H. 1216/1802), 363 (A.D. 1854), 364 (fragment only, to end of Hindu Rājahs. N.d.), ii 3012 (18th cent.), **I.O. D.P.** 637a (18th cent.), **Calcutta Madrasah** 128 (defective. Circ. A.D. 1800), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (4 copies dated A.H. 1224/1809-10 etc. three of them containing a continuation, *Damīmah i Kh. al-t.*, by Jai Kishan Dās Mihrah, dealing with Aurangzēb's reign and one an anonymous further continuation from Aurangzēb's death to A.H. 1158/1745. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) pp. 46-8), **Aligarh** Subh. MSS. p. 58 no. 954 (10) (A.H. 1226/1811), **Berlin** 472 (A.H. 1227/1812), **Bānkipūr** vii 540 (A.H. 1234/1819), Suppt. 1762 (A.H. 1231/1816), **Vollers** 984, 985 (A.D. 1842), **Āsafīyah** i p. 238 nos. 515 and 648, iii p. 102 no. 1062 (A.H. 1263/1847), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 84 (breaks off in the history of Multān, which is inserted in Bābur's reign), Suppt. 436 (King's 156),

<sup>1</sup> The first volume of the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* is little more than a verbal transcript of the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*. According to 'Abd al-Muqtadir the *Kh. al-t.* contains little that is not found in *Firishtah* (sc. to the death of Akbar). It enters into minute details concerning the contest between Aurangzēb and his brothers.



**Madras** 128, **Rosen** Institut 16 (breaks off in Humāyūn's reign), **Upsala** Zettersteen 401.

Edition: *The Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh by Sujān Rai Bhandari edited by M. Zafar Hasan . . .*, **Delhi** 1918\* (540 pp.). The editions of the *Muqaddimah* to the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirin* (for which see p. 638 *infra*) can also be regarded as editions of the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*.

Translation of the topographical and statistical account of the *ṣūbahs* (omitting the last, Kābul): *The India of Aurangzib (topography, statistics, and roads) compared with the India of Akbar with extracts from the Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh and the Chahar Gulshan translated and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta* 1901\*, pp. 1-122 [corresponding to pp. 28-83 in Zafar Hasan's edition].

Descriptions: (1) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 5-12 (including a translation of the account of Delhi, 1½ pp.), (2) *The Khulāṣat [sic]-at-Tawārīkh, or Essence of History; being the description and history of India as told by a Hindu two hundred years ago. By H. Beveridge* (in *JRAS.* 1894 pp. 733-68), (3) *The India of Aurangzib . . . by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta* 1901, pp. xi-xv.

Free Urdu translation (or, in places, adaptation<sup>1</sup>) of the earlier part (less than one-third of the whole), which deals mainly with the geography of India and the Hindu Rājās of Delhi<sup>2</sup>: *Ārāyish i mahfil* begun in 1219/1804 and completed in 1220/1805 by Mīr Shēr 'Alī "Afsōs" Ja'farī b. S. 'Alī Muẓaffar Khān, an Urdu poet, who was Head Munshī in the Hindustani department at the College of Fort William, and who died at Calcutta in 1809 (see Sprenger p. 198, Saksena *History of Urdu literature* pp. 244-5): **I.O.** 2048 = Blumhardt 39 (a MS. from the College of Fort William which does not contain "Afsōs's" preface and introduction).

<sup>1</sup> The translator has both added and subtracted, especially in the accounts of the *ṣūbahs*.

<sup>2</sup> In his preface the translator expressed his intention of translating the part relating to the Muhammadan rulers, but there seems to be no evidence that he ever carried out this intention.



Editions of the *Ārāyish i mahfil* : **Calcutta** 1808°, 1848°, 1863°, **Lahore** 1867\*, **Lucknow** 1870\*.

English translation : *The Araish-i-Mahfil ; or, The ornament of the assembly, literally translated from the Oordoo by Major<sup>1</sup> Henry Court . . .*, **Allahabad** 1871°, **Calcutta** 1882°.

Extracts from the *Ārāyish i mahfil* : (1) [The general description of India, its spring and rainy season, fruits, flowers, animals, Hindu learning, ascetics, army, women] *Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī, or Selections in Hindustani . . .* By John Shakespear . . . vol. i (**London** 1817°) pp. 79–134, (2) [The description of the *ṣūbahs*] *ibid.* vol. ii (**London** 1818°) pp. 3–188.

Translations of extracts from the *Ārāyish i mahfil* (1) [The Hindu “sciences” (French)] *Quelques lignes sur les sciences des Indiens, extraites de l’Araich-i-mahfil . . . et traduites de l’hindustani par M. [J. H. S. V.] Garcin de Tassy* (in the *Journal asiatique* [1st series] tome ix (**Paris** 1826°) pp. 97–115). (2) [On the fruits and flowers of India (French)] *Quelques lignes sur les fruits et les fleurs de l’Hindostan, extraites de l’Araich i Mahfil ou Statistique et histoire de l’Hindostan, . . . et traduites . . . par M. Garcin de Tassy* (in the *Journal asiatique* [1st series] tome xi (**Paris** 1827°) pp. 94–105). (3) [Most of the general description of India, its spring and rainy season, elephants, carriages and palanquins, inhabitants, army, women, and of the geographical description of the *ṣūbahs* (French)] *Histoire de la littérature hindoui [so] et hindoustani [so] par M. [J. H. S. V.] Garcin de Tassy* [First edition], tome ii (**Paris** 1847°) pp. 310–411. (4) [Most of the general description of India, its spring and rainy season, carriages and palanquins, inhabitants, army, women (but not the description of the *ṣūbahs*, which is now omitted)] *Histoire de la littérature hindouie et hindoustanie par M. [J. H. S. V.] Garcin de Tassy . . . seconde édition, tome i* (**Paris** 1870°) pp. 125–36. (5) [History of the Pāndavas (French)] *Histoire du règne des Pandavas dans l’Hindoustan, traduite du texte hindoustani de l’Araich-i Mahfil . . . par M. l’abbé [François Marie] Bertrand* (in the *Journal*

<sup>1</sup> Major is a Christian name of the translator’s, not a military title. At the date of publication M. H. Court was a lieutenant in the Bengal Cavalry.



*asiatique*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, tome xiv (**Paris** 1842°\*) pp. 71–107. (6) [The Hindu Rājahs from Parīkshit to the Muslim conquest (French)] *Histoire des rois de l'Hindoustan après les Pandavas, traduite . . . par M. l'abbé* [F. M.] *Bertrand* (in the *Journal asiatique*, 4<sup>e</sup> série, tome iii (**Paris** 1844\*°) pp. 104–23, 229–57, 354–77. (7) [Ten of the fourteen chapters or sections contained in Shakespear's *Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī*, vol. i (only), those on the fruits, flowers, crocodile, etc., Hindu sciences and women being omitted] *Ārāyish i mahfil* [these words printed in the Arabic character] or *Assemblage of ornament. Ten sections of a description of India, being the most interesting portion of J. Shakespear's Muntakhabāt-i-Hindī . . . Translated . . . and accompanied with notes, explanatory and grammatical, by N. L. Benmohel, Dublin* 1847°.

Descriptions of the *Ārāyish i mahfil*: (1) *Histoire de la littérature hindoui et hindoustani par M. Garcin de Tassy*, [first edition], tome i (**Paris** 1839\*), pp. 31–2, seconde éd., tome i (**Paris** 1870\*) pp. 124–5, (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 6–7, (3) H. Beveridge *Khalāṣat-[sic] at-Tawārīkh . . .* (in *JRAS.* 1894) pp. 734, 747–8, 750–2.

[*Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* pp. 6<sup>11-12</sup> (for many years *munshī* to officials), 71<sup>20</sup> (Baṭālah his birthplace), 86 penult. (saw certain women in the neighbourhood of Kābul), 35<sup>16</sup> (visit to the gardens at Pinjaur); colophons of certain MSS.: H. Beveridge *The Khalāṣat-[sic] at-Tawārīkh . . .* (in *JRAS.* 1894) pp. 737, 763–4; Jadunath Sarkar *The India of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1901, p. xi; *Ency. Isl.* under Sandjān [sic] Rāy (M. Shafī').]

623. **Jagjiwan Dās**, son of Manōhar Dās, **Gujrātī** entered the Imperial service as *harkūrah* in 1105 1693–4 and from that time kept a record of current events. In 1119 1707–8 he received a *khil'at* from Bahādur Shāh at Lahore, where he had been for two years in the Intelligence Department.

*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*,<sup>1</sup> a sketch of Indian history written in 1120 1708–9 and, apart from the chapter dealing with Bahādur Shāh, based apparently on the *Lubb al-tawārīkh* of Bindrāban (see p. 453 *supra*): **Rieu** i 232a (A.H. 1144 1731),

<sup>1</sup> *Muntakhab i tawārīkh* in I.O. 4517.



231b (A.H. 1257/1842), **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A. iv 23 (A.H. 1231/1816, said to have been transcribed from a fair copy of the author's dated A.H. 1131/1719), **I.O.** 4517 (A.H. 1240/1825).

[*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, preface (cf. Rieu i pp. 231b-232a).]

624. The year 1118/1706-7 is twice mentioned as the current year in a

*Dastūr al-‘amal* beginning *Fihrist i tawārīkh i Rājahā i Dihlī wa-ghairah* and containing chronological records down to Farrukhsiyar's 2nd year, A.H. 1126/1714, with lists of Shāh-Jahān's and Aurangzēb's *amīrs*, their titles etc.: **Ivanow** 381 (A.H. 1271/1854-5), **Rieu** iii 989b (transcribed from the preceding MS.).

625. **M. Hādī**, a convert from Hinduism, entered the imperial service in Aurangzēb's time. In the second year of Bahādur Shāh's reign he received the title of **Kāmwar Khān** at the recommendation of Prince Rafī' al-Shān, Bahādur Shāh's second son, and was appointed *Mīr-Sāmān* to Rafī' al-Shān's third son, M. Ibrāhīm. He is the author of a history of the Indian Tīmūrids brought down to A.H. 1137/1724-5 and entitled *Tadhkirat al-salātīn i Chaghatā* (see p. 517 *infra*).

*Haft gulshan i Muḥammad-Shāhī* (or *Haft gulshan i Ilāhī*, as the author calls the work in the preface to his *Tadhkirat al-salātīn i Chaghatā*), a general history of India to A.H. 1132/1719-20 divided into seven *gulshans* ((1) Delhi to the time of Bābur, Jaunpūr, Mālwah, (2) Gujrāt, **Khāndēsh**, (3) Bengal, (4) the Deccan, (5) Sind, Multān, (6) Kashmīr, (7) Indian saints) and based mainly on *Firishtah* and Bindrāban's *Lubb al-tawārīkh* (see p. 453 *supra*): **Ethé** 394 (a later edition finished in 1136/1723. Autograph), **Lindesiana** p. 169 no. 871 (A.H. 1207-6/1792-1 (so)), **Berlin** 494 (A.H. 1209/1794), **Edinburgh** 202 (lacks *Gulshan* vii. Late 18th cent.), **Rieu** iii 908a (18th cent.), **Bānkipūr** vii 541 (19th cent.).

English translation of some extracts by Sadāsuk'h Lāl **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,782 foll. 3-60.



Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 13-16 (with a translated extract of 1 page).

[*Haft gulshan*, preface (see Rieu iii 908a, Elliot and Dowson viii pp. 13-14), *Tadhkirat al-salātīn i Chaghata*, vol. ii (in the account of Bahādur Shāh's reign. See Bānkīpūr vii p. 15, where the words are quoted) : M. Bakhsh "Āshōb" Life of Muḥammad Shāh (Rieu iii 943-5) fol. 44 (cf. Rieu iii 945a), where Kāmwar Khān is said to have been originally a Hindu named Chandīdās.]

626. 'Abd Allāh "Yaqīn", a descendant of Mīr Shāh Mansūr Barlās, and consequently described in the *Safīnah i Khwushgū* as a Mughul of Tūrānī origin, is said to have lived the life of a *darwīsh* and to have spent his time in the coffee-shops of Shāh-jahānābād (see the Bānkīpūr catalogue viii p. 106). According to the same authority he wrote a *dīwān*.

*Tārīkh i Thābit*, a metrical history of the Muḥammadan dynasties of India written in 1133/1720-1, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, at the suggestion of Thābit-Qadam Khān : Blochet iii 1928 (12th regnal year [of M. Shāh ? A.H. 1142/1729-30]), I.O. D.P. 614 (18th year of M. Shāh [A.H. 1149/1736]), Rieu ii 824b (28th year of M. Shāh [A.H. 1158/1745]).

[Autobiographical statements at the end of the *Tārīkh i Thābit* ; *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 130) ; *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 106).]

627. M. Hāshim Khāfī <sup>1</sup> (*M. al-l.* iii p. 2<sup>3</sup>) entitled (*mukhātāb bi-*) Hāshim 'Alī Khān (*M. al-l.* i p. 2<sup>1</sup>) and afterwards **Khāfī Khān**

<sup>1</sup> So spelt in the printed text, but Khwāfī according to Rieu iii p. 235b (cf. *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii p. 680 and note 1 on p. 461 *infra*). However spelt, this *nisbah* doubtless indicates a family connexion with Khwāf or Khāf, a town and district in Khurāsān. The idea (stated by Morley, R.A.S. Cat. p. 100, without mention of any authority but evidently of earlier origin, since Elliot refers to it) that the title Khāfī Khān contains an allusion to the "clandestine" composition of the *Muntakhab al-lubāb* in the period when historical writing was forbidden by Aurangzēb is contrary to Khāfī Khān's own statements concerning the composition of his work and has long been discredited, having been disputed by Sir H. Elliot, who died in 1853, and still more emphatically by W. Nassau Lees in the *JRAS.* for 1868.



Nizām-al-Mulkī (*M. al-l.* i p. 2<sup>1</sup>, iii p. 2<sup>3-4</sup>) was the son of an official<sup>1</sup> in the service of Prince Murād-Bakhsh, Shāh-Jahān's youngest son.<sup>2</sup>

He makes no precise statement concerning the date of his birth, but in one passage (*M. al-l.* i p. 739) he mentions that at the time of writing (*li-ghāyat i ḥāl*) seventy-four years had passed since the death of Sa'd Allāh Khān (Jumādā ii A.H. 1066/ April 1656) and fifty-two since he himself had reached the age of discretion (*ḥadd i tamīz*).<sup>3</sup> H. Beveridge in the *Ency. Isl.* assumes (with a query) that the age of discretion was fourteen years and infers, doubtless with substantial correctness, that Khāfi Khān was born about A.H. 1074 (i.e. 1140 — 66).

The place of his birth is unknown, but his connexion with the Deccan dates at least from an early period in his life. Thus he tells us (*M. al-l.* ii p. 555<sup>18-19</sup>) that he attended the funeral of the

<sup>1</sup> By name Khwājah Mīr Khwāfi according to Elliot *History of India* vii p. 207 ("His father, Khwāja Mīr, also a historian [? C.A.S.], was an officer of high rank in the service of Murād Bakhsh") and p. 208, where it is stated that "not only does Ghulām 'Alī Shāh style our author Muhammad Hāshim the son of Khwāja Mīr Khwāfi, but he himself gives his father's name as Mīr Khwāfi". Unfortunately Elliot does not say where Khāfi Khān mentions his father by name nor does he even specify the work in which "Ghulām 'Alī Shāh" (= Ghulām-'Alī "Āzād"?) speaks of him. Neither Mīr Khwāfi nor Khwājah Mīr Khwāfi seems to occur in the indexes to the Calcutta edition of the *Muntakhab al-lubāb*. P.S. At the beginning of the anonymous history Bānkīpūr vii no. 590 (cf. p. 642 *infra*) Khāfi Khān is called *Muḥammad Hāshim ibn Khwājah Mīr muḥarrir i tārikh kih Khwāfi al-aṣl az zumrah i namak-parwarān i Ṣāhib-Qirān i Thānī Shāh-Jahān Bādshāh u ū u pidarash rafīq i Sultān Murād-Bakhsh būdand*. The words are quoted in Bānkīpūr vii p. 102<sup>2-4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> . . . wālid i marḥūm kih az naukarān i mu'tamad i rū-shinās i Murād-Bakhsh u tā rūz i farāgh i muqaddamah dar pāy i qal'ah nishastah dar fikr i manṣūbah i kamand bastan u firūd āwardan i Āqā-yi khwud ba-sar burdah būd u ba-fikr i naukarī i 'Ālamgīr na-pardākht (*M. al-l.* ii 155 = E. & D. vii p. 266). He was with Murād-Bakhsh at the Battle of Samōgarh and was severely wounded (*M. al-l.* ii 27<sup>7-9</sup> = E. & D. vii p. 223). He subsequently asked for and eventually obtained a *manṣab* from Shāh-'Ālam (*M. al-l.* ii pp. 554-5).

<sup>3</sup> *Az-ān ast kih az zamān i qadīm li-ghāyat i ḥāl az rūy i tawārikh ān-chih ba-mutāla'ah dar āmadah u dar muddat i panjāh u dū sāl kih musawwid i aurāq ba-ḥadd i tamīz āmad mushāhadah mī numāyad hīch ṣālim khwud 'āqibat ba-khair na-gashtah . . . u aulād i Sa'd Allāh Khān li-ghāyat i ḥāl kih haftād u chahār sāl az zamān i wafāt i ūst hamah 'āqibat-mahmūd . . .*



saint Sh. Burhān<sup>1</sup> [Burhānpūrī], who died according to him<sup>2</sup> in the 22nd year of Aurangzēb's reign [i.e. A.H. 1089/1678]. With another saint of Burhānpūr, Mīr Naṣīr al-Dīn Harawī, he was in close relation as a disciple (*M. al-l. ii* p. 558 penult.). His teacher (*ustād*) was a certain Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad, whom he describes as a well-known scholar and an incomparable mathematician (*riyāḍī-dān*) contemporary with Jahāngīr (*M. al-l. i* p. 308), but it is not clear who this person was or where he lived.

He was attached<sup>3</sup> to the unsuccessful expedition sent by Aurangzēb [in 1093/1682] under the command of Shihāb al-Dīn Khān against the fort of Rāmsēj<sup>4</sup> (*M. al-l. ii* p. 282<sup>11</sup>). In the days when Aurangzēb was resident in the Deccan,<sup>5</sup> Khāfī Khān noticed that from the year 1097/1685-6 onwards the Deccan was free from any sign of pestilence (*wabā. M. al-l. i* p. 287<sup>16-18</sup>).

For a time he was residing with 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān Lārī<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Sh. Burhān see Ethé 1897, Ivanow 1278, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu (iii 1091*b*) gives an earlier date, A.H. 1083/1672-3, for the death of this saint on the authority either of the *Mir'āt al-'ālam* or the *Riyāḍ al-auliya'* or both.

<sup>3</sup> *Muḥarrir i sawānih az jumlah i muta'ayinah i ān fauj būd.*

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned by Tieffenthaler, who spells the name Rām Sedj, in his list of forts in the province of Aurangābād (see his *Géographie de l'Indoustan*, Berlin 1786 (forming Tome i of Bernoulli's *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*) p. 479 and Sarkar *The India of Aurangzib* p. lxxxvii no. 114 (misprinted 144) and p. 163 no. 114).

<sup>5</sup> Aurangzēb was in the Deccan from 1092/1681 to the end of his reign (1118/1707).

<sup>6</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq Lārī was in the service of Abū 'l-Ḥasan Qutb-Shāh and fought bravely against Aurangzēb's troops at the time of the final attack on Golconda in 1687, when he was severely wounded. After resisting Aurangzēb's overtures for a time he entered the Imperial service in the 36th regnal year [A.H. 1103/1691-2], received the title of Khān and was appointed *Faujdar* of the 'Ādil-Shāhī Kōnkan (in the neighbourhood of Goa), from which he was subsequently transferred to the *Faujdarī* of Rāhīrī. Khāfī Khān chronicles these appointments under the year 1103 1691-2. Shāh-Nawāz Khān, who in this matter is less likely to be correct than Khāfī Khān, places the appointment to Rāhīrī in the 36th year and that to the 'Ādil-Shāhī Kōnkan in the 40th. See Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 330-5 (= *M. al-l. ii* pp. 360-2), etc., *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii pp. 818-21, Beveridge's trans. pp. 70-71, etc.



in a house adjacent to the fort built by Shivājī at Rāhīrī<sup>1</sup> (*M. al-l. ii* p. 390<sup>7-9</sup> = *E. & D. vii* p. 341). This must have been within the period 1103-6/1691-5 (or thereabouts), since 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of Rāhīrī in (or soon after) the former year (*M. al-l. ii* p. 405) and removed from that post in the latter (*M. al-l. ii* p. 449).

In 1105/1693-4 Khāfī Khān went to Sūrat as 'Abd al-Razzāq Khān Lārī's authorised agent in order to convey from that port to Rāhīrī property worth nearly two lakhs of rupees. On his way back he received and accepted an invitation to visit an English acquaintance of Abd al-Razzāq Khān's at Bombay. His interesting account of that visit to Bombay (*M. al-l. ii* pp. 424-7) is one of the passages translated by Dowson (*E. & D. vii* pp. 351-4).

This was not his only visit to Sūrat. At the time when he wrote his history he had been there repeatedly (*mukarrar*, *M. al-l. i* p. 469. Cf. *ii* p. 441), and once (in 1106/1694-5 apparently) he was present at a banquet given by Amānat Khān Khwāfī,<sup>2</sup> the *Mutaṣaddī* of the town, to Sh. 'Abd al-Rahmār Muftī on his return from a pilgrimage to the Hījāz (*M. al-l. ii* p. 444). Another place with which he was connected was Baglānah,<sup>3</sup> in which he spent two years at some unspecified time (*M. al-l. i* p. 562).

A few days after Aurangzēb's death he was in the company

<sup>1</sup> "The name was afterwards changed to Rāi-garh. It lies due east of Jinjera.—See Grant Duff, vol. i, p. 190" (*Elliot and Dowson vii* : 288 n.).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Amānat Khān i Thānī (Mīr Ḥusain) the third son of Amānat Khān Mīrak Mu'in al-Dīn Aḥmad. For his life see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i pp. 287-9 Beveridge's trans. pp. 230-2.

<sup>3</sup> "Between Surat and Nandurbar is an inhabited hilly region called *Baglan*. The country is cultivated and has a good climate . . . It has seven famous forts, of which Saler and Mulher\* [Footnote \*In the Nosari district of the Gaekwar's dominions] are [the most] celebrated. The chiefs are of the clan of Rathor" (*Sarkar The India of Aurangzib* p. 63, the above passage being translation from Sujān Rāy's *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*). See also *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i pp. 413-15, Beveridge's trans. pp. 352-4, where a much fuller account is given.



of M. Murād Khān (see p. 467 *infra*), who at that time was *Wāqī'ah-Nigār* and *Sawāniḥ-Nigār* of the province of Aḥmadābād and also Faujdār of the *sarkār* of T'hāsrah<sup>1</sup> and Gōdrah.<sup>2</sup> It must have been about this time that he was brought into contact with the leader of an Ismā'īlī sect at Aḥmadābād in connexion with the release of some prominent members of the sect who had been imprisoned by order of Aurangzēb.<sup>3</sup> It was then that he obtained some Ismā'īlī law-books with a view to investigating the names Ismā'īlīyah and Chirāgh-kush, by which the sect was known.

He was present on the battle-field near Haidarābād where Prince Kām-Bakhsh was defeated on the 3rd of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1120/13 January 1709<sup>4</sup> by Bahādur Shāh's forces (*M. al-l. ii* p. 624<sup>10</sup>). In the early part of that Emperor's reign he was *Qal'ah-dār* at Chānpānēr<sup>5</sup> in Gujrāt (*M. al-t. i* p. 77).

<sup>1</sup> So *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii 686<sup>5</sup>. The printed text of Khāfī Khān has the corrupt reading T'hānēsar [!].

<sup>2</sup> *Dar ān aiyām muḥarrir i aurāq dar rafāqat i M. Murād Khān kih wāqī'ah-nigārī u sawāniḥ-nigārī i tamām ṣūbah i Aḥmadābād u faujdārī i sarkār i T'hāsrah u Gōdrah dāshtah būd* (*M. al-l. ii* p. 567 = E. & D. vii p. 388).

<sup>3</sup> *M. al-l. iii* p. 177<sup>14</sup> seq. (*Chunānchih dar awākhir i 'ahd i ḥaḍrat i Khuld-Makān* [i.e. Aurangzēb] *kih ḥaqīqat i ān-hā ba-'ard rasīd chand nafar pīshwā-yi ān-hā rā ḥukm i ḥabs farmūdah būdand. Dar 'amal i ṣūbah i Ibrāhīm Khān muqtadā-yi ān jamā'ah rā bah muḥarrir i aurāq dar Aḥmadābād sarūkār i khalāṣī i ān-hā uftād. u kutub i fiqh i ān-hā rā barā-yi taḥqīq i lafz i Ismā'īlīyah u Chirāgh-kush ba-dast āwardah mu'āla'ah numūd*).

Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed Governor of Aḥmadābād in succession to Prince M. A'zam (in the last year of Aurangzēb's reign according to Khāfī Khān ii 541<sup>15</sup>, but the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i 299<sup>7</sup> places this event in the 46th year, at least according to the printed text). He was superseded by Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrōz-Jang not long after Bahādur Shāh's accession (see *M. al-l. ii* p. 616<sup>13</sup>, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii p. 878<sup>8</sup>, Beveridge's trans. p. 591). It is not clear whether the Ismā'īlī leader referred to here is identical with Mullā Jiwan, an Ismā'īlī *mujtahid*, whom Khāfī Khān met on one occasion at Aḥmadābād and questioned concerning the Ismā'ilīs (*M. al-l. i* p. 593).

<sup>4</sup> See *Ency. Isl.* under Bahādur Shāh. Khāfī Khān places this battle in the year 1119.

<sup>5</sup> *Kātib i ḥurūf dar awā'il i 'ahd i Khuld-Manzil Shāh-'Ālam Bahādur dar ān-jā ta'alluqah i māli u qal'adārī dāsht*.



In 1121/1709-10 (having recently arrived in Aḥmadābād<sup>1</sup>) he was appointed by Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Fīrōz-Jang, the Governor (Ṣūbah-dār) of the province of Aḥmadābād, to be *Dīwān* and *Mihmāndār*<sup>2</sup> to a distinguished visitor, Mīrzā M. Hāshim,<sup>3</sup> who had come, presumably from Persia, via Sūrāt [to Aḥmadābād] on his way to Bahādur Shāh's court at Delhi.

At the beginning of Farrukh-siyar's reign (A.H. 1124 or 1125/1713) Qilich Khān received the title of Nizām al-Mulk Bahādur Fath-Jang and the Governorship (ṣūbah-dārī) of the Deccan. Apparently at this time he appointed Khāfī Khān to be his *Dīwān*.<sup>4</sup> In the following year, however, S. Husain 'Alī Khān became Governor of the Deccan, and Nizām al-Mulk returned to Delhi. Khāfī Khān next tells us (*M. al-l.* ii p. 798) in his account of the year 1131/1718-19 that after three distressful years he was appointed *Amīn* and *Faujdār* of the estates (*maḥāll*) of Muṣṭafā-ābād,<sup>5</sup> which belonged to the Royal domains. From this new appointment he was dismissed after only a very

<sup>1</sup> *Musawwid i aurāq dar ān aiyām tāzah wārid i Aḥmadābād gardīdah būd* (*M. al-l.* ii p. 664<sup>12</sup>). We have seen that he was in Aḥmadābād in the governorship of Ibrāhīm Khān.

<sup>2</sup> *u muḥarrir i sawāniḥ rā dīwān u mihmāndār az taraf i khwud sākhtah ba-ābrū-yi tamām rawānah numūd* (*M. al-l.* ii p. 666<sup>2-3</sup>): *muḥarrir i sawāniḥ rā Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrōz-Jang az taraf i khwud mihmāndār u dīwān i shāh-zādah muqarrar numūdah ham-rāh dādah būdand* (*M. al-l.* ii p. 678<sup>8-9</sup>). Cf. *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii p. 680 (*Khawāfī Khān shāhib i tārikh i Muntakhab al-lubāb kih bā muḥarrir i in aurāq maḥabbat i tamām dāsht u ittifaqan Khān i Fīrōz-Jang az Aḥmadābād az taraf i khwud ū-rā mihmāndār i shāh-zādah muqarrar kardah būd u shāh-zādah dar rāh kār-hā-yi dīwānī i khwud rā ba-ū farmūdah*).

<sup>3</sup> A great-grandson (*nabīrah*) of the Persian Prime Minister Khalīfah Sultān (Khalīfah S. 'Alī b. Mīr Rafī' al-Dīn. See *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 109-10) and at three removes (*ba-sih wāsītah*) a *nawāsah* (daughter's child) of Shāh 'Abbās. For a biography of this person see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 677-83.

<sup>4</sup> *Dar aiyāmī kih in 'ājiz rā ba-kamāl i nā-dānī az rāh i lutf u qadr-dānī dīwānī i sarkār i khwud dar ṣūbah-dārī i Dakan muqarrar numūdah būd* (*M. al-l.* ii p. 748<sup>14-15</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> *Az ān-jumlah muḥarrir i sawāniḥ kih ba'd i kasālah u taṣdī' i sih sāl kih az Dakan ba-ḥudūr raftah dar rikāb būdah ba-khidmat i amānat u faujdarī i maḥāll i Muṣṭafā-ābād, kih ba-khālīshah i pādshāhī ta'alluq dāsht, ma'mūr gardīdah* (*M. al-l.* ii p. 798<sup>3-6</sup>). Muṣṭafā-ābād is evidently "Muṣṭafā-ābād 'urf Chōprah" (*M. al-l.* i p. 717<sup>13</sup>, ii p. 274 ult.), which was in Khāndēsh.



short time by S. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who took him with him<sup>1</sup> on his march to Delhi [in 1131/1719].

In Ramaḍān 1132/1720 he rode through Delhi to see the damage caused by an earthquake (*M. al-l.* ii p. 883<sup>9 seq.</sup>). According to Beveridge (*Ency. Isl.* under Khāfi Khān) it was Muḥammad Shāh who conferred upon him the title Khāfi Khān. No statement to this effect seems to occur in the printed text of the *Muntakhab al-lubāb*.

In a Persian note at the end of the British Museum MS. Add. 26,224 (a copy of vol. ii) it is stated (according to Rieu i p. 232b) that the author had written four or five leaves further when he died (probably therefore in, or not long after, 1144/1731-2).

More than once in the *Muntakhab al-lubāb* he takes occasion to reflect on the evil consequences of oppression (*ẓulm*, *mardum-āzārī*) not only to the oppressor but to his descendants (the sins of the fathers being visited upon the children), and in one passage (ii pp. 676-7) he claims that he himself never stooped to such conduct. Even at a time when speculation was rife in the Deccan of Aurangzēb's days he took care that matters should not go so far as to cause accusations of oppression. In or soon after Aurangzēb's 32nd year there did indeed occur a regrettable incident, of which he declines to give particulars, but thereafter he strove whole-heartedly—but with incomplete success—to avoid imputations of financial irregularity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *u ma'zūlān rā maqhdūb numūdah muhtāj ba-nān i shab gardāndah bā-khūud girift. Az ān-jumlaḥ muḥarrir i sawānih . . . (M. al-l. ii p. 798<sup>2-3</sup>). Cf. M. al-l. ii p. 811<sup>5-6</sup>, where Khāfi Khān mentions that he watched the flight of the Marāthā troops [at Delhi].*

<sup>2</sup> *Al-ḥamdu li-llāh kih musawwid i aurāq . . . hargiz rādī ba-mardum-āzārī kih dar zabān-hā ba-ẓulm munjarr gardad na-gardidah. Khudā rā . . . ba-'azamat yād numūdah iqrār mī numāyad kih tā san[sic] i sī u dū-yi 'Ālamgīr dar taba'iyat i nafs i kāfir-kīsh khūud rā mu'āf na-mī dāshat u māl i ḥadrat i Khud-Makān kih dar ṣūbajāt i Dakan khūwān i yaqhmā būd bisyār khūurdah shudah ammā dar-ān aiyām ham ihtiyāt i tamām dāshat kih kūr ba-ān-jā na-rasad kih dar zabān-hā guft-gūy ba-ẓulm munjarr gardad. Ba'dahu ba-sabab i rūy dādan i ba'dī muqaddamāt kih ba-tahrīr i tafṣīl i ān pardākhtan pardah i rū-siyāhī i khūud rā az miyān bar-dāshatan ast ba-Khudāy i khūud 'ahd numūdah u tā maqdūr ba-dīl u jān kūshūdah kih dar akl u taṣarruf u talaf numūdan i māl i Musulmānān taba'iyat i nafs i shūm na-numūdah ammā har chand khūwist kih az bad-nāmī i ẓāhirī i*



He was on friendly terms with his much younger<sup>1</sup> contemporary and fellow-Khwāfī, Ṣamṣām al-Daulah Shāh-Nawāz Khān, the author of the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*.<sup>2</sup> Another friend and at one time a colleague of his was his kinsman (*birādarī*) M. Murād Khān (for a time entitled Sa'ādat Khān), who for two or three years was Aurangzēb's *Hājib* at *Haidarābād*,<sup>3</sup> and who died in 1120 (according to *M. al-l.* ii p. 661) or in 1122 (according to the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii 687).

In a preamble which occurs in the B.M. MS. Or. 176 (latter part of vol. ii, Aurangzēb and his successors) but not in the printed text and which is summarised by Rieu (i p. 234b), Khāfī Khān describes himself as having been successively attached to the train of three or four sovereigns and says that he had spent sixteen or seventeen years of his life on the composition of the *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, especially on the last forty years of Aurangzēb's reign. Of that period, owing to Aurangzēb's prohibition of historical writing, he had found no previous record<sup>4</sup> except

*qabūl i 'ummālī kih sagbānī u khūk-charā'i ba-marātib bihtar az-ān-ast najāt yābad u dast u pāy bisyār zad kih ba-diyānat-dārī kūshīdah khwud rā dar zabān-hā az bad-nāmī i akhdh u jarr i 'ummāl i bad-ma'al mahfūz dārad chūn in faid mahd ba-faḍl i Ilāhī wā-bastah ast muyassar na-y-āmad.*

<sup>1</sup> Ṣamṣām al-Daulah was born in 1111/1700.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii p. 680 (Khwāfī Khān ṣāhib i *tārīkh* i *Muntakhab al-lubāb* kih bā muḥarrir i in aurāq mahabbat i tamām dāsht).

<sup>3</sup> See *M. al-l.* iii p. 412 (*Az ān-kih muḥarrir i aurāq dar khidmat i M. Murād Khān kih birādar i kalān i Mīrzā Muḥammad mī bāshad az muddat i madīd rafāqat i ta'aiyunātī bah 'aqīdat u bandagī u irādat i khāṣṣ dāsht u M. Murād Khān rā kih dar ān aiyām mukhāṭab bah Sa'ādat Khān numūdah būdand muddat i dū sih sāl hijābat i Haidarābād dāsht u in 'ājiz rā ziyādah az farzandān i khwud mī khwāst . . .*) Cf. *M. al-l.* ii p. 290 = E. & D. vii p. 313 (*Ammā ān-chih az zabān i rāwiyān i thiqaḥ masmū' gardīdah u ba-sabab i ta'aiyunāt būdan i birādarī i ghufrān-panāh M. Murād Khān kih az tarbiyat-yāftahā-yi huḍūr būd u bar aqwāl i ū i'timād i kullī dāsht u khwud dar safar i Rām-darrah u hijābat i Haidarābād mushāhadah numūdah ba'd i taḥqīq i ikhtilāf i aqwāl az bīsh u kam ba-zabān i qalam mī dihad.* M. Murād Khān was the son of Murshid-Qulī Khān M. Husain and was not a brother of Khāfī Khān (as Dowson's translation suggests). For a biography of him see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 682-92.

<sup>4</sup> This statement must be regarded as untruthful, if Prof. Sri Ram Sharma is correct in his belief (published in the *JRAS.* 1936 pp. 279-83) that Khāfī Khān's account of Aurangzēb's reign is largely borrowed from a history of that reign "by Abū 'l-Faḍl Ma'mūrī". See pp. 594-5 *infra*.



Musta'idd Khān's account of the Deccan conquests, but he had tried to compile a truthful narrative from the official records, the reports of trustworthy persons and his personal experiences.

*Muntakhab al-lubāb*, a history of India from the Muḥammadan conquest "to the beginning of Muḥammad Shāh's 14th year", A.H. 1144/1731,<sup>1</sup> divided into three volumes ((1) perhaps never completed except in the rough,<sup>2</sup> from the Muḥammadan conquest to the end of the Lōdī dynasty, (2) the Timūrids to Muḥammad Shāh,<sup>3</sup> the detailed narrative closing with A.H. 1137/1724<sup>4</sup> and being followed by a chapter on events, especially in Persia, from the eighth to the thirteenth year of Muḥammad Shāh, (3) the local dynasties ("the kings of the various *ṣūbahs* of India, with the exception of those of Delhi and Akbarābād") abridged from *Firishtah*, *Nūr al-Haqq* and others but perhaps never continued beyond the Deccan dynasties<sup>5</sup>): **Ivanow** 173 (very defective, but apparently old.

<sup>1</sup> *li-ghāyat i shurū' i sanah i chahārdah bah tahrīr i mujmalī az sawānīh i 'ahd i Muḥammad Shāh Bādshāh pardākhtah . . .* (*M. al-l.* ii p. 978). According to Nassau Lees (*JRAS.* 1868 p. 468) the MSS. differ considerably. "... no two copies that I have met with—and I have compared five apparently very good MSS.—are exactly alike, while some present such dissimilarities as almost to warrant the supposition that they are distinct works, some passages being quite accurate, and others again *entirely* dissimilar."

<sup>2</sup> In a preamble preserved in the B.M. MS. Or. 176 (the latter part of vol. ii: see Rieu i 234b) the author says that vol. i had been completed in the rough but not yet in a fair copy. The only recorded manuscript of this volume is the fragment dealing with the Lōdīs which Rieu has described (i p. 235a).

<sup>3</sup> According to the preamble already referred to the author spent sixteen or seventeen years of his life on the composition of his work, especially on the last forty years of Aurangzēb's reign. Of that period, an account of that sovereign's prohibition, he had found no previous record except Musta'idd Khān's account of the Deccan conquests. According to Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, however, the account of Aurangzēb's reign is copied almost word for word from a history of that reign "by Abū 'l-Faḍl Ma'mūrī" (see *JRAS.* 1936 pp. 279-83 and pp. 594-5 *infra*).

<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of vol. ii the year 1133 1720-1 (in the printed text erroneously A.H. 1130) is referred to as the date of composition (see Rieu i 233a *ult.*).

<sup>5</sup> The author did not intend to confine himself to the Deccan, as is clear from the words "*shurū' az shash ṣūbah i Dakan numūdah*" (iii p. 2<sup>o</sup>), but only Deccan history is contained in such of the few recorded MSS. of this volume as have been adequately described.



A.H. 1146/1733-4 (?), 169 (vol. ii only. A.H. 1191/1777), 170 (vol. ii, defective. Late 18th cent.), 171 (vol. ii. Late 18th cent.), 172 (vol. ii, pt. 2 (from Aurangzēb's 32nd year). A.H. 1194/1780), 1st Suppt. 763 (Vol. III (not vol. i as stated in the catalogue). Deccan dynasties only. Urdībihisht 1313 Ilāhī (*sic*, but the Ilāhī era, which starts in 963/1556, has not yet reached 1313)), **Rieu** i 232*b* (vol. ii. A.H. 1196/1782), 234*a* (vol. ii. A.D. 1821), 234*a* (vol. ii, part = Calcutta ed. i p. 1-ii p. 177. 18th cent.), 234*a* (vol. ii, part = Calcutta ed. i p. 2-ii p. 127. 18th cent.), 234*a* (vol. ii, part = Calcutta ed. ii pp. 492-978. A.H. 1224/1809), 234*b* (vol. ii, part = pt. ii of the Calcutta ed. A.D. 1823), 234*b* (Vol. I, part (the Lōdīs) and vol. ii, part (Bābur to Aurangzēb's tenth year, but lacking the later part of Akbar's reign and the whole of Jahāngīr's). 18th cent.), 235*b* (Vol. III, first part (the Deccan dynasties). A.H. 1237/1822), iii 1049*b* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Lindesiana** p. 175 no. 822 (circ. A.D. 1780), **Ethé** 396 (vol. ii. Late 18th cent.), 397 (vol. ii. A.H. 1225/1810), 398 (vol. ii. A.H. 1239/1823), 399 (vol. ii. Modern), 400-1 (vol. ii. N.d.), 402 (vol. ii, part of 2nd half (Aurangzēb's 4th year to accession of Farrukh-siyar). N.d.), 403 (vol. ii, part (Farrukh-siyar to M. Shāh)), 404 (vol. ii, extracts from 1st half. A.D. 1806), 405 (vol. ii, selections), 406 (vol. ii, extracts), 407 (Vol. III, small portion (86 fols. Bahmanīs to Nizām Shāh (d. 867/1463)), ii 3013 (vol. ii, defective), **I.O.** 3936 (A'zam Shāh to the end), **Blochét** i 549 (vol. ii. 18th cent.), **Caetani** 2 (belonged to Jonathan Scott), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 254 no. 216 (Vol. III), no. 403 (Vol. III. A.H. 1204/1789-90), iii p. 92 nos. 1367 (an abridgment of Vol. III?), 1172 (an abridgment of Vol. III. A.H. 1269/1851-3), **Rehatsek** p. 91 no. 37 ("all the four volumes" [*sic*]. A.H. 1207/1793), no. 38 (an abridgment?. N.d.), **Brelvi & Dhabhar** p. 63 no. 4 (Vol. III. A.H. 1214/1799-1800), **Bodleian** 259 (vol. ii, extending to M. Shāh's 3rd year = 1133/1720-1), 260 (vol. ii), 261 (vol. ii. A.D. 1842), **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A. i 24-7 ("recent"), **R.A.S.** P. 102-3 = Morley 98-9 (vol. ii, to Aurangzēb's death), **Browne** Suppt. 1253 (vol. ii, part (Aurangzēb's reign). N.d.), 1254 (vol. ii, part (from Aurangzēb's 11th year). A.H. 1237/1821-2, copied from an original dated A.H. 1183/1769-70), **Browne** Coll. H. 15 (13) (Vol. III, part



(105 foll. only)), **Bānkipūr** vii 592 (vol. ii. 19th cent.), **Berlin** 435 (vol. ii, extending to M. Shāh's 3rd year, A.H. 1133/1720-1), **Majlis** 275.

Edition : (1) (of vol. ii<sup>1</sup> only) : *The Muntakhab al-lubāb of Khāfī Khān. Edited by Maulavī Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmed* [and Ghulām Qādir], 2 pts. **Calcutta** 1860-74\* (Bibliotheca Indica). (2) (of vol. iii (Deccan dynasties only)) : *Muntakhab-al-lubāb by Khāfī Khān . . . volume iii. Edited by Sir Wolseley Haig.* **Calcutta** 1909-25\* (Bibliotheca Indica).

Translations of extracts : (1) [by W. Erskine, dated 1811] an extract extending from Shāh-Jahān's accession to A.H. 1067/1656-7 : **B.M.** MS. Add. 26,613-14. (2) [by W. Erskine] a transcript of the preceding, with another extract [also translated by Erskine ?] extending from A.H. 1070/1659-60 to A.H. 1130/1718 : **B.M.** MS. Add. 26,615-16. (3) [by Captain A. Gordon, dated Nāgpūr 1821] an extract extending from the beginning of vol. ii to Mahābat Khān's capture of Jahāngīr : **B.M.** MS. Add. 26,617 and (another copy) 26,618-19. (4) [by J. Dowson] extracts nearly all relating to Aurangzēb : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 211-533.

Descriptions : (1) W. Nassau Lees *Materials for the history of India for the six hundred years of Mohammadan rule* (in *JRAS.* 1868 pp. 414-77) pp. 465-9, (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 207-10.

[Autobiographical statements (nearly all of these are referred to above) ; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 207-9 ; Rieu i 232b, 234b, 235b ; *Ency. Isl.* under Kh<sup>w</sup>āfī Khān (Beveridge).]

628. **Lāl Rām**, son of Rāy Dūlah Rām b. Rāy Kunjaman Khuld-Makānī, once held Mūngī Patan, in the Deccan, as a *jāgīr* (*T. al-H.* fol. 22a). He was in the service of Muḥammad Shāh and wrote his *Tuhfat al-Hind* in the 18th year of that sovereign's reign, A.H. 1148/1735-6.

<sup>1</sup> This printed edition ignores the existence of vol. i and, dividing vol. ii into two parts (*ḥiṣṣah*), calls them part i and part ii of the *Muntakhab al-lubāb*.



*Tuhfat al-Hind*, a history and topography of India to the time of Farrukh-siyar (reigned 1124/1713–1131/1719) in four sections (*fasl*), the third containing an account of the early kings of Persia and the Greek philosophers, the fourth miscellaneous historical anecdotes, and a *Khātimah*: **Edinburgh** 203 (A.H. 1182/1768), **Rieu** i 236 (lacking *Khātimah*. 18th cent.).

629. **Yahyā Khān** was *Mīr Munshī* to the Emperor Farrukh-siyar (reigned 1124/1713–1131/1719).

*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, a general history of India to A.H. 1149/1736–7, based chiefly on the *Tabaqāt i Akbarī* (see p. 433 *supra*): **Ethé** 409 (A.H. 1212/1797).

630. **Rustam ‘Alī** b. M. **Khalīl Shāhābādī** was serving in the army of Bājī Rāō at the taking of Mālwah in 1150/1737–8. He then went to Bhōpāl and lived under the patronage of the Nawwāb Yār-Muhammad **Khān**.

*Tārīkh i Hindī*, a general history of India to A.H. 1153/1740–1, completed in 1154/1741–2, and divided into a *muqaddimah*, ten *tabaqahs* and a *khātimah* (on contemporary or nearly contemp. *shaikhs*, ‘*ulamā*’ and poets), much space being devoted to Muhammad **Shāh**<sup>1</sup>: **Rieu** iii 909a (A.H. 1264/1848), 1057b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Translated extracts: **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,780 foll. 118–160.

Description and 27 pp. of translated extracts (on M. **Shāh**’s reign): **Elliot and Dowson** *History of India* viii 40–69.

631. **Rāy Chaturman**<sup>2</sup> **Kāyat’h**<sup>3</sup> **Saksēnah**,<sup>4</sup> surnamed

<sup>1</sup> “ Altogether a useful compilation, as it is not copied verbatim from known authors, and in the latter part of it the author writes of many matters which came under his own observation or those of his friends ” (**Elliot and Dowson** viii p. 41).

<sup>2</sup> This name has been variously written by different cataloguers—Chatarman (**Rieu** and others), Cāturman (**Ethé** in the Bodleian catalogue, where the long vowel in the first syllable is evidently a slip or a misprint), Chaturman (**Edinburgh** catalogue (**Ethé** ?)), Chhatar Mān [sic] (**Edwards**, following **Sarkar** in respect of the (incorrect) long vowel in the last syllable).

<sup>3</sup> = **Kāyast’h**, the name of the writer caste among the Hindus.

<sup>4</sup> The name of a subdivision of the **Kāyast’h** caste.



Rāy-zādah, (Rāy Chaturman, *qaum* Kāyat'h Saksēnah, *laqab* Rāy-zādah, as he calls himself in the preface) completed his *Chahār gulshan* in 1173/1759-60, a date which he indicates by a metrical chronogram.<sup>1</sup> According to the colophon of his grandson (*nabīrah*), the redactor, which occurs in most of the manuscripts, the author died one week after finishing the work.

*Chahār gulshan*, or *Akhhār al-nawādir*, a history and topography of India to A.H. 1173/1759-60 in four *gulshans* ((1) the *ṣūbahs* (provinces) of Hindūstān, (2) the *ṣūbahs* of the Deccan, (3) itineraries from Delhi to various parts of India, (4) Muslim and Hindu saints) edited by the author's grandson, Chandar-bhān Munshī Kāyat'h Saksēnah, surnamed Rāy-zādah, who added a preface dated 1204/1789-90: **Bodleian** 264 (A.H. 1203/1789<sup>2</sup>), **I.O.** 3779 (18th cent.), 3944 (A.H. 1221/1807), **D.P.** 627 (early 19th cent.), 3935 (A.D. 1895), 3880 (A.D. 1895?), **Lindesiana** p. 130 no. 448 (circ. A.D. 1800), **Edinburgh** 410, **Rieu** iii 909b (19th cent.), **Bānkipūr** vii 542 (19th cent.), **Berlin** 476 (1), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 236 no. 350 (A.H. 1299/1881-2), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (*Gulshan* i and pt. of *Gulshan* ii. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 48).

English translation of the topographical and statistical portions, i.e. parts of *Gulshan* i, most of *Gulshan* ii and all of *Gulshan* iii: *The India of Aurangzib (topography, statistics, and roads) compared with the India of Akbar with extracts from the Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh and the Chahar Gulshan translated and annotated by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta 1901\**, pp. 123-78.

Descriptions: (1) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 255-6, (2) J. Sarkar *The India of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1901, pp. xv-xxv.

632. *Dastūr al-‘amal* (?) (beg. *Ba-mūjab i tawārīkh i*

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the Bodleian catalogue as follows:

*Zi-dil guftam bi-gū tārīkh raushan \* Nidā āmad Chaturman nīk gulshan  
Buwad nām i tu dar tārīkh dākhil \* Ham az majmū'ah shud tārīkh hāṣil.*

<sup>2</sup> This copy apparently lacks the editor's preface, though it contains his colophon.



*Hinduwī*), a history of India from the earliest times to A.H. 1179/1765 with chronological, statistical etc. notices largely in tabular form : **Berlin** 473 (A.H. 1179/1766), 474 (transcript of the preceding MS.).

633. **Anand-rūp**, a Brāhman born at Chāngulnāt<sup>1</sup> near Nārnaul, spent some years in the service of Jānōjī<sup>2</sup> Bhōṁslā and Sītā-Rām. Having gone from Nāgpūr in the suite of Nāṣir al-Mulk Nāṣir-Jang, he wrote his *Mizān i dānish* at Ilāhābād (Allahabad) in 1182/1768-9.

*Mizān i dānish*, a brief sketch of Indian history : **Rieu** iii 910 (A.D. 1851).

634. For the *Farḥat al-nāzirīn*, a history, mainly of India, completed in 1184/1770-1 by M. Aslam Parasrūrī, see pp. 140-1 *supra*, and for the *Hadīqat al-ṣafā* completed in the same year by Yūsuf 'Alī Khān see p. 140 *supra*.

635. Nawwāb<sup>3</sup> **Maḥabbat Khān**<sup>4</sup> b. Faīd-'Aṭā Khān was a descendant of Dilēr Khān Dāwud-zāy (d. 1094/1683), a Rohilla general in Aurangzēb's service, whose elder brother, Bahādur Khān, founded Shāhjāhānpūr.

*Akḥbār i Maḥabbat*, a general history of India to A.H. 1186/1772, giving special attention to the author's ancestors and to Shāhjāhānpūr and Bengal<sup>5</sup> : **Rieu** iii 911a (A.D. 1850), 1052b (extracts only), **I.O.** 3926 (probably A.D. 1878).

<sup>1</sup> So Rieu.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu writes Khālūjī Bhonslā, but presumably Jānōjī, the second Mahārājah of Nāgpūr (1749-72), is meant.

<sup>3</sup> So Elliot.

<sup>4</sup> This Nawwāb Maḥabbat Khān is to be distinguished from Ḥāfīz Raḥmat Khān's eldest son Nawwāb Maḥabbat Khān "Maḥabbat", who died in 1223/1808 and is the author of an Urdu *dīwān* (see I.O. Catalogue of Hindustani MSS. nos. 161-2) and a Pushtu grammar and vocabulary written in Persian and entitled *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* (see Ethé 2452-4).

<sup>5</sup> "In too abridged a form to be much use, except towards the end, where the author expands the narrative, giving an unusually minute account of the Durrānī invasions, and some of the transactions of Shāh 'Ālam's reign" (Elliot and Dowson viii 376-7). In earlier reigns also he gives special attention to Afghan exploits.



Extracts translated by Munshī Sadāsuk'h : **B.M. MS. Add.** 30,782, foll. 309–415.

Description and 14 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 376–393.

636. **Jūgal Kishōr** compiled for Sir Elijah Impey (Chief Justice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta 1774–83, d. 1 Oct. 1809<sup>1</sup>)

(*Tārīkh i Jūgal Kishōr*), an unimportant<sup>2</sup> history of India from the death of 'Adlī to the date of composition : **Rieu** iii 1029b (foll. 38b–42. Extracts only), 1051b (extracts only).

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii p. 300.

637. A resident of the district of Sanbhal and Badā'ūn in Rōhēlk'hand wrote in 1194/1780, when Najaf Khān<sup>3</sup> was master of Delhi and the Jāt territories and Faīḍ Allāh Khān was the reigning Rohilla chief,

*A sketch of Indian history* from Akbar to A.H. 1194/1780 written as a supplement to 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī's *Dhikr al-mulūk* (see p. 441 *supra*), with special attention to the Rohillas : **Rieu** iii 1007a (19th cent.).

638. For the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn* of S. Ghulām-Ḥusain Khān Tabātabā'ī, which is a history of India from Aurangzēb's death in 1118/1707 to A.H. 1195/1780–1, but to which the author subsequently added a *Muqaddimah* consisting of Sujān Rāy's *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* with slight alterations and which thus became in effect a general history of India, see pp. 635–9 *infra*.

639. **Ghulām-Bāsīṭ** Amēt'hawī,<sup>4</sup> having lost his estate in

<sup>1</sup> See Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 215 and the histories of India dealing with the British period.

<sup>2</sup> "It is of no value, at least in the passages which I have examined" (Elliot and Dowson viii p. 300).

<sup>3</sup> Nawwāb Dhū 'l-Faqār al-Daulah Mirzā Najaf Khān, a Persian who rose to be *Ṣūbah-dār* of Allahabad and subsequently *Wakīl i Muṭlaq* to Shāh-'Ālam, died in 1196/1782.

<sup>4</sup> Amēt'hī is a small place in the Sultānpūr District of Oudh.



Oudh and tried unsuccessfully to enter the service of the Timūrids, became *munshī* to General Giles Stibbert (Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army 1777-9 and 1783-5), who took him to Calcutta. At the latter's request he wrote the *Tārīkh i mamālik i Hind*.

(*Tārīkh i mamālik i Hind*), a short history of India to A.H. 1196/1781-2 (the date of composition) based mainly on *Firishtah*: **Rieu** i 237 (18th cent.), ii 798a (history of Malabar only. A.H. 1197/1783), iii 1051b (extracts only), Suppt. 83 ii (chapter on Gujrāt only. 19th cent.), **Rehatsek** p. 76 no. 15 (A.H. 1240<sup>1</sup> /1824-5), **Ethé** 2835 (only the preface and the latter half of the history. Transcribed from the preceding MS. A.H. 1296/1879).

Description and a short translated extract: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 200-3.

640. **Har-Charan-Dās** b. Ūdai Rāy b. Mukund Rāy b. Sāgar-Mal, a native of Meerut, went to Delhi soon after Nādir Shāh's invasion [A.H. 1151/1739] and some years later entered the service of Nawwāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān b. Qāsim Khān, who was father-in-law and *Khān-sāmān* to Najm al-Daulah M. Ishāq Khān.<sup>2</sup> In 1167/1753-4 Qāsim 'Alī Khān moved from Delhi to Faīdābād (Fyzabad) but died immediately afterwards, and Har-Charan-Dās, who had accompanied him, remained there in the service of his late master's descendants. For many years he received an allowance from Nawwāb Shujā' al-Daulah of Oudh. In 1199/1784-5, when he wrote the preface of the *Chahār gulzār i Shujā'ī*, he had reached an advanced age.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kahmān Singh, whom Rehatsek gives as the author, was presumably the copyist and A.H. 1240 the date of transcription not, as Rehatsek supposed, the date of completion by the author.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Mu'taman al-Daulah M. Ishāq Khān, who was *Bakhshī i Chahārum* in the reigns of M. Shāh and Ahmad Shāh and who died in 1163/1750. A sister of his was married to Shujā' al-Daulah of Oudh. See *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 774-6.

<sup>3</sup> Eighty years according to his own statement, but this seems to be only a rough approximation, since he was in his twentieth year in 1143/1730-1, when his grandfather, Dīwān Mukund Rāy, died at Meerut (see Rieu i p. 912a).



*Chahār gulzār i Shujā'ī*, a history of India to A.H. 1201/1786-7, dedicated to Shujā' al Daulah and divided into five *chamans* ((1) Brahmā, Mahēś etc., (2) the *Satya Yuga*,<sup>1</sup> (3) the *Trētā Yuga*, (4) the *Dwāpar Yuga*, (5) the *Kalī Yuga*, this fifth *chaman* being subdivided into two *ṣafḥahs*, of which the first treats, in twelve *qisms*, of the Hindu Rājahs from Jud'hishtir to the Muslim conquest, and the second, in nine *qisms*, of the Muslim sovereigns, the ninth *qism* containing the history of the Timūrids from Humāyūn to Shāh-Ālam and including a discursive but valuable account of the author's own times): **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (autograph? See *Oriental College Magazine* vol. ii no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 48), **Rieu** iii 912a (preface and chapters from the latter part of the last *qism* only. 19th cent.).

Extracts translated by Munshī Sadāsuk'h Lāl : **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,782, foll. 113-205.

Description and 23 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 204-31.

[Autobiographical statements in the preface and elsewhere (see Elliot and Dowson viii pp. 204-6, Rieu iii 92).]

641. **Lachhmī Narāyan** "**Shafiq**" **Aurangābādī** was born at Aurangābād in 1158/1745. His father, Rāy Mansā-Rām, for many years held high office in the Nizām's dominions and in 1204/1789-90 was (had perhaps long been) *Dīwān*.<sup>2</sup> Lachhmī Narāyan entered the service of 'Ālī-Jāh, son of Nizām-'Alī Khān<sup>3</sup> (Rieu i p. 326a, iii p. 1083a, apparently from the *Natā'ij*

<sup>1</sup> The *Yugas* are the four ages into which the Hindus divide the history of the world. The first three are legendary, the fourth, the *Kalī Yuga*, is that now in progress.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Haqīqat-hā-yi Hindustān*, written in 1204/1789-90, Lachhmī Narāyan describes his father as *Dīwān*. According to the *Natā'ij al-afkār*, as quoted by Rieu (iii 1083a), Mansā-Rām held for nearly forty years "the office of Ṣadr of the six Ṣubahs of the Deccan". It is apparently on the same authority that Rieu says in another place (i p. 327a) that he "filled for nearly forty years the office of Pīshkār of the Deccan".

<sup>3</sup> Nizām-'Alī Khān was Nizām from A.H. 1175/1761 to A.H. 1218/1803.



*al-afkār*). The date of his death does not seem to be recorded,<sup>1</sup> but it was not before 1214/1799, the date of the *Bisāṭ al-ghanā'im*. He received instruction in Persian from "Āzād" Bilgrāmī (*Nishtar i 'ishq*, Sprenger p. 645), whom he calls his *pīr* (*Gul i ra'nā*, Bānkīpūr viii p. 128). He wrote poetry both in Persian and Urdu, and called himself at first "Ṣāhib" but afterwards, at "Āzād's" request, "Shafīq."<sup>2</sup> In addition to the *Haqīqat-hā i Hindūstān* he wrote three *tadhkirahs*, the *Chamanistān i shu'arā'* (A.D. 1761. Urdu poets. Edition: Aurangābād 1928. See B.S.O.S. v/4 (1930) p. 927), the *Gul i ra'nā* (A.H. 1182/1768-9. Indian poets. Bānkīpūr viii 701, I.O. 3692-3, Rieu iii 972b, Rehatsek p. 161) and the *Shām i gharībān* (A.H. 1182/1768-9. Poets who visited India. No copies recorded), the *Tanmīq i shigarf* (A.H. 1200/1786. A history of the Deccan. Ethé 447, 448. Cf. Rieu ii 859b), the *Ma'āthir i Āṣafī* (A.H. 1204/1793. A history of the Nizāms. Ethé 468, Ivanow 196, Rieu iii 1039a), the *Bisāṭ al-ghanā'im* (A.H. 1214/1799. A history of the Marāṭhās. Rieu i 328-9, Āṣafīyah i p. 220, Ethé ii 3018, Rehatsek p. 73), a description of Ḥaidarābād (A.H. 1214/1799. Rieu i 327a) and a historical work entitled *Khulāṣat al-Hind* (Āṣafīyah i p. 238, where the precise subject is not stated).

(1) *Haqīqat-hā-yi Hindustān*<sup>3</sup> (a chronogram = 1204/1789-90), a historical and topographical account of India written for the benefit of the author's munificent patron, Captain William Patrick (so Rieu, but perhaps Kirkpatrick<sup>4</sup> should be read) and divided into four *maqālahs* ((1) revenue returns based on some drawn up by the author's grandfather, brought down from various dates to the Faṣlī year 1139, and signed by Nizām al-Mulk, (2) account of the *ṣūbahs* of Hindūstān, (3) account of the *ṣūbahs* of the Deccan, (4) sketch of the Muslim rulers of

<sup>1</sup> The *Natā'ij al-afkār* (as quoted by Rieu iii 1083a) says merely that he died in the early part of the 13th century.

<sup>2</sup> According to T. Grahame Bailey (B.S.O.S. v/4 (1930) p. 927) he used the *takhalluṣ* "Shafīq" in his Persian and "Ṣāhib" in his *Rēkhtah* (i.e. Urdu) poetry.

<sup>3</sup> Hindūstān, not Hindūstān, which would give the wrong date.

<sup>4</sup> For William Kirkpatrick, who translated a selection of Tīpū's letters, see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian biography*.



India from Mu'izz al-Dīn b. Sām to 'Ālī-Gauhar (*Shāh-Ālam*): **Rieu** i 238*b* (A.H. 1224/1809), 238*a* (A.H. 1283/1866), iii 913*a* (A.D. 1851), **Ivanow** 179 (A.H. 1288/1871), **Bānkipūr** vii 543 (19th cent.), **Ethé** 426.

(2) *Khulāṣat al-Hind* : **Aṣafīyah** i p. 238 no. 705 (where the precise subject is not stated).

[*Gul i ra'nā* (Bānkipūr viii p. 131); *Nishtar i 'ishq* ("Shafīq's" biography summarised in Sprenger p. 645); *Natā'ij al-afkār* (information summarised in Rieu iii 1083*a*); Rieu i 327*a*, iii 1083*a*; Nizāmī Badāyūnī *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (in Urdu) ii p. 167.]

642. Munshī **Hirām** [?] or **Hanirām** [?], son of D'hanīrām, son of D'hanrāj, was *Qānūngō* of the *parganah* of Ūnām (i.e. Unao in Oudh). It was after 1207/1792 that he compiled from various Sanskrit and Persian sources his

*Rāj-sōhāwalī*, a history of the Hindū Rājahs and the Muḥammadan rulers of India to A.H. 1194/1780 in *Shāh-Ālam*'s reign together with statistical tables of the *ṣūbahs* of Hindūstān : **Ethé** 208.

643. **Sarūp Chand** K'hatri compiled in 1209/1794–5 for Sir John Shore (afterwards Baron Teignmouth, Governor-General 1793–8)

*Ṣaḥīḥ al-akhbār*, a general history of India to the author's time : **Rieu** iii 1031*a* (extracts only).

Description and a translated extract (1½ p.): Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 313–5.

644. **A'azz al-Dīn Muḥammad** wrote in 1218/1803–4 for Major William Yule (the father of Sir Henry Yule) his

*Mukhtaṣar i Yūl*, a sketch of the Delhi Sultāns and the Tīmūrīds, said by Rieu to be merely a transcript of the *Tārīkh i Haqqī* (see p. 441 *supra*) with a meagre continuation : **Rieu** i 238*b* (early 19th cent.).



645. Mirzā **Masitā**,<sup>1</sup> a descendant of Ilāh-wirdī Khān Jahān-girī, wrote in the time of Shāh-‘Ālam (reigned A.H. 1173/1759–1221/1806) for the instruction of his son Karīm Allāh Khān, called Mirzā Kallū, his

*Intikhāb al-tawārīkh*, a mere sketch of Indian history in an introduction, two books ((1) Northern India, (2) the Deccan) and a conclusion : **Rieu** iii 1052a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 334–5 (the only MS. known to Elliot was in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow).

646. **Harnām Sing’h** “ Nāmī ” b. Gūrdās Sing’h, a Sāraswat Brāhman, of Brāhmanābād in the province of Lahore, resided near Lucknow. His father was Nā’ib to ‘Ain al-Dīn Khān, Governor of Barēli A.H. 1195/1781–1199/1784–5 and afterwards of Gōrak’hpūr, and Harnām Sing’h himself was in his service from childhood.

*Tārīkh i sa‘ādat i jāwīd*, a general history of India to A.H. 1220/1805–6, written in 1221/1806–7, dedicated to Sa‘ādat ‘Alī Khān, the Nawwāb Wazīr of Oudh, and divided into four *fasls* ((1) Early *Rājahs*, (2) Kings of Delhi to Shāh-‘Ālam, (3) *Amīrs* and *Rājahs* of Āṣaf al-Daulah’s time, etc., (4) the Seven Climates, etc.), useful for biographical details of Indian nobles : **Rieu** iii 913a (defective at end. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Extracts translated by Munshī Sadāsuk’h : **B.M.** MS. Add 30,786, foll. 1–81.

Description and 14 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 336–354.

647. Rāy **Amar Sing’h** “ Khawush-dil ” tells us in the prose preface<sup>2</sup> to his *Razmistān* that he was born and bred at Ghāzīpūr but had been resident for some years at Benares. In the poem itself he speaks of his being appointed *Munshī* to Alexander

<sup>1</sup> Elliot writes Māsītā, but see **Rieu** iii 1052a and *Kulliyāt i Ghālib*, Lucknow 1924–5, p. 437–8.

<sup>2</sup> This preface occurs in I.O. 4019 but not in I.O. 3975.



Duncan.<sup>1</sup> The *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* states on unspecified authority that he was the son of Jīwan Rām Kāyast'h, that his [his father's ? <sup>2</sup>] original home (*aṣlī waṭan*) was Karrah Mānikpūr, that in the time of Shujā' al-Daulah [A.H. 1169/1756–1189/1775] he [his father ? <sup>2</sup>] was *Nāẓim* and *Hākim i a'lā* of Ghāzīpūr, that on completing his education he entered the service of Mahā-rājah Chait<sup>3</sup> Sing'h of Benares (reigned A.H. 1185–95), that subsequently he was appointed *Nāẓim*<sup>4</sup> of 'Alīgarh by the East India Company, that he wrote a *Tārīkh i farmān-rawāyān i Hind*, and that he died in 1225/1810.<sup>5</sup>

(1) *Zubdat al-akhbār*, an abridgment of Sujān Rāy's *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* (see p. 454 *supra*) continued to A.H. 1221/1806–7: Rieu iii 1052a foll. 170–94 (extracts only).

Translated extracts: B.M. MS. Add. 30,781 foll. 60–69.

Description: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 374–5.

(2) *Razmistān* (or *Bazm i khayāl* <sup>6</sup> ?), a versified sketch

<sup>1</sup> A. Duncan died at sea in 1210/1795–6. He was a brother of the better known Jonathan Duncan, Resident and Superintendent at Benares 1788, Governor of Bombay 1795–1811 (see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian biography*).

<sup>2</sup> These statements concerning the *aṣlī waṭan* and the appointment at Ghāzīpūr seem to have been accidentally transferred from the father to the son.

<sup>3</sup> The *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* writes Ajīt.

<sup>4</sup> It may be doubted whether this is the correct technical term. According to Elliot and Dowson "He seems to have been employed by the British Government in the Revenue Department".

<sup>5</sup> In view of the similarity of names and the connexion with Benares and 'Alīgarh it seems likely that he is the same person as "Khūshgú [*sic*], Munshiy Ammar [*sic*] Singh Banārsy [*sic*]", of whom there is a notice in the *Riyāḍ al-wifāq* (Sprenger p. 167) as well as in Beale's *Oriental biographical dictionary*, p. 70, and the *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (the *Riyāḍ al-wifāq* being apparently the original source). "Khūshgú, Munshiy Ammar Singh Banārsy held a government appointment in the Coel [i.e. Kōl = 'Alīgarh] district. He compiled a short history of Akbar's palace and of the Taj of Agra and put the Bahāre Dānish into verse and called it *Tarjamah i Bahār i dānish*". . . [Sprenger p. 167, where the last title is printed in the Arabic character].

<sup>6</sup> *Razmistān* is the title given to the work in the author's prose *dībāchah* (in I.O. 4019), but Rieu in describing extracts evidently from the same work calls it *Bazm i khayāl*. The extracts described by Rieu seem to include the *dībāchah* (since it is in the *dībāchah* that the author says that he was born at Ghāzīpūr, a fact mentioned by Rieu), and it seems possible that the author changed the title. On the title-page of I.O. 3975 it is called *Shāh-nāmah i Hind*.



of Indian history, chiefly the British period, to A.H. 1210/1795-6, dedicated to Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares 1788-95, and completed in 1211/1796-7<sup>1</sup>: **I.O.** 3975 (A.D. 1896), 4019 (A.D. 1892), **Rieu** iii 1017b foll. 34-46, 52-57 (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

[*Razmistān*, preface etc. ; Nizāmī Badāyūnī *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (in Urdu) i p. 104 ; probably also *Riyād al-wifāq* (Sprenger p. 167) and Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary* p. 70.]

648. A certain **Kānji-Mal** wrote

*A chronological list* of the Hindu Rājahs from Jud'hishtir to Pit'hōrā and of the Muḥammadan rulers from Shihāb al-Dīn Ghōrī to the accession of Akbar Shāh in 1221/1806 : **Rieu** iii 917b (A.H. 1225/1810).

649. **Daulat Rāy** Kāyat'h Saksēnah composed in 1225/1810

*Chahār (Chār) chaman*, a general history of India : **Rieu** iii 1058b (description only).

650. Munshī **Sadāsuk'h** "Niyāz" **Dihlawī** was employed at the close of the 18th century in some official capacity under Government at Chunār. At the age of 65 he left Delhi for Ilāhābād, where after ten years spent in literary work, including the composition of Persian, Urdu and Bhākā verse, he began his history. In addition to this work he wrote also the *Tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* (cf. **Rieu** iii 918a), on Hindu tribes and sects, and the 'Ajā'ib al-Hind (cf. *ibid.* 1030b) on remarkable places etc. in India.

*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, composed in 1234/1818-19, a general history of India to 1233/1817-18, valuable for the reign of Shāh-Ālam and later times : **Rieu** iii 914a (complete. A.D. 1849), 1021b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1052b (extracts only).

<sup>1</sup> In order to console himself for the death of his patron, A. Duncan, the author read ancient and modern histories and then conceived the idea of telling in verse the story of some events in the ancient and modern history of India. He wrote an account of the war of Lord Cornwallis against Tipū Sultān, prefixed to it some account of the sultāns of Hindūstān and called the poem *Razmistān*.



Extracts translated by Munshī Sadāsuk'h Lāl : **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,786, foll. 82-291.

Description and 4 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 403-411.

[Elliot and Dowson viii 403-5 ; Rieu iii 914*a*.]

651. **Nūr-Muḥammad** b. Mirzā M. **Khurāsānī** completed in 1240/1824-5 and dedicated to Sirāj al-Umarā' 'Azīm-Jāh, Nawwāb of the Carnatic,

*Sirāj al-tawārīkh*, a vast general history with special reference to India : **Ethé** ii 3009 (autograph brouillon).

652. A large work on the political and natural history of India projected by 'Azīm-Jāh, Nawwāb of the Carnatic (i.e. M. 'Alī **Khān** Bahādur Sirāj al-Umarā', who was installed on 3 Feb. 1820 and died on 12 Nov. 1825), was entrusted by him to the superintendence of Maulawī M. **Ṣibghat Allāh** entitled 'Azīm-Nawāz **Khān** Bahādur Mu'tamad-Jang 'Umdat al-'Ulamā' Muftī Badr al-Daulah, who has already been mentioned (pp. 222-3 *supra*) as the author of a *Dāstān i gham* written in 1250/1834-5. Of the collaborators selected by Maulawī **Ṣibghat Allāh** for the various parts the most prominent was Ridā Ṣāhib known as Ḥakīm Bāqir Ḥusain **Khān** Bahādur, who devoted himself particularly to the history of the Carnatic from the time of Sa'd Allāh **Khān** to that of Wālā-Jāh (this portion of the history does not occur in the only recorded manuscript). After Ridā Ṣāhib's death Ṣ. Murtaḍā (i.e. no doubt "Bīnīsh", author of the *tadhkirah*, *Ishārāt i Bīnīsh*, mentioned below in the subsection BIOGRAPHY : POETS) undertook to supply other portions of the political history, but the work was interrupted by the Nawwāb's death and remained unfinished. Both Maulawī **Ṣibghat Allāh** and Ṣ. Murtaḍā were still alive in 1859, the latter as teacher in the Madrasah [at Arcot presumably].

'*Azīm al-tawārīkh*,<sup>1</sup> a history, mainly of India, planned to

<sup>1</sup> An English note on a fly-leaf ascribes to the work the general title of *Sirāj al-tawārīkh* (cf. § 651 *supra*), but, according to **Ethé**, no such title is mentioned in the Persian text.



consist of seven *maqālahs* and five *muqaddimahs*, but differently divided in the only recorded manuscript, which is evidently incomplete, lacking, for example, the Carnatic and Mysore history (which was to be the subject of *Maqālah* vii) : **Ethé** 430 (consisting of (1) a general introduction on the value of historiography, the sources for the Hindu period and an outline of pre-Muhammadan Indian history, (2) history of the Creation, the Patriarchs, the Hindu rājahs and the rise of Islām in India, (3) [called *Maqālah* iii] the Ghaznawids, (4) [called *Maqālah* iv] the Delhi Sultāns to 'Alā' al-Dīn [Khaljī], (5) [called *Maqālah* v] the Delhi Sultāns from Buhlūl Lōdī, (6) [called *Maqālah* vi] the Indian Tīmūrids to Muḥammad Shāh. These are followed by a portion called *Jāmi' al-ashyā'* or *Hasht chaman* on natural history).

653. **Kishan-Dayāl** K'hatri, of Delhi, completed in 1826 his *Ashraf al-tawārīkh*, which he wrote for presentation to Rājah Chandū Lāl "Shādān",<sup>1</sup> Pēshkār at Haidarābād.

*Ashraf al-tawārīkh*, an enormous compilation in seven books ((1) epitome of the *Śiva-Purāṇa* etc., (2) translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, (3) translation of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, (4) Hindu saints, (5) epitome of the *Mahābhārata*, history of the Hindū Rājahs, the Muḥammadān kings of Ghaznī and Delhi to Akbar II, (6) the revenues of Hindūstān and Persia, (7) account of the seven climates etc.): **Rieu** iii 1026b (foll. 48-70. Extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1042b (foll. 147-152. Account of the K'hatri caste only. Circ. A.D. 1850), cf. 1052b. [Elliot knew of only two MSS., both in the possession of the author's family.]

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 411-2.

654. S. **Aḥmad Khān** b. S. Muttaqī Khān, or Sir<sup>2</sup> Saiyid,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He was the author of *dīwāns* both in Persian and Urdu. The former will be mentioned in the section of this book devoted to Poetry. He died on 19 April 1845 (see Garcin de Tassy iii 90-92, Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography*, and the authorities mentioned on p. 252, n. 1, *supra*).

<sup>2</sup> This is the English title prefixed to the name of a knight. Sir Saiyid was created a Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India in 1882.

<sup>3</sup> An old transliteration "Syed" still survives in India side by side with other transliterations.



as he is commonly called by the Muḥammadans of India, was born at Delhi on 17 October, 1817. His maternal grandfather, Khwājah Farīd al-Dīn Aḥmad,<sup>1</sup> was Prime Minister to Akbar II. Entering the East India Co.'s service, he was appointed *Sarishtah-dār* (Record-keeper) of the Ṣadr Amīn's<sup>2</sup> Court at Delhi in 1837, *Nā'ib Munshī* "or deputy reader" in the office of the Commissioner of Āgrah in 1839, *Munṣif* or Sub-Judge at Mainpūrī in 1841, at Fathpūr-Sikrī in 1842 and at Delhi in 1846.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently he was *Ṣadr Amīn* at Rohtak (1850) and Bijnaur (1855), Principal Ṣadr Amīn<sup>4</sup> at Murādābād (1858), Ghāzīpūr (1862), and 'Alīgarh (1864), and Judge of the Small Cause Court at Benares (1867). He retired in 1876, settled at 'Alīgarh, died there on 27 March 1898 and is buried at the side of the mosque of the 'Alīgarh Muslim University. He was a Member of the Legislative Council of the North-West Provinces and from 1878 to 1882 a Member of the Viceroy's Council. In 1882 he was made a K.C.S.I.

Sir Saiyid Aḥmad's fame, however, rests not on his official career but on the distinguished services which he rendered to education and the spread of enlightenment among the Muḥammadans of India. Unlike his bitter opponents<sup>5</sup> among the orthodox, who regarded modern knowledge as useless and dangerous to faith, he believed education of the European type to be the only means of raising the status of India's Muḥammadans and enabling them to play their part worthily in the history of their country. In 1858 he opened a school at Murādābād for the study of modern history, in 1864 he founded the Translation Society of Ghāzīpūr (which afterwards became the Scientific

<sup>1</sup> See *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* i pp. 236-7.

<sup>2</sup> "A subordinate judge (lower than *ṣadr-a'lā*; — the office has been abolished)" (Platts). *Sudder Ameen* was the old spelling.

<sup>3</sup> The dates given by the different authorities are not in all cases quite the same.

<sup>4</sup> The vernacular equivalent seems to be *Ṣadr A'lā* or *Ṣadr al-Ṣudūr*.

<sup>5</sup> An interesting account of the campaign of vituperation, menace and slander directed against him will be found in "Hālī's" *Hayāt i jāwīd*, pt. ii pp. 266-312. A series of *fatwās* denouncing him is given at the end of Maulawī Imdād al-'Alī's *Imdād al-āfāq*, Cawnpore 1873\*.



Society of 'Aligarh) for the translation of English books into Urdu, in 1870 he started a monthly periodical entitled *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* (English title: *The Mohammedan social reformer*) and formed a "Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among the Mohammedans of India". Finally in 1875 came the opening of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at 'Aligarh (now the 'Aligarh Muslim University), of which he was the chief promoter and which is the most widely known of the memorials which he left behind him.

Sir Saiyid's labours had lasting effects in several different directions. They profoundly influenced Indian Muslim education. They stimulated the growth of a modernist or liberalising school of religious thought among educated Indian Muhammadans. They contributed to the promotion of friendly relations between Europeans and Indians.<sup>1</sup> They changed the course of Urdu prose style. According to T. Grahame Bailey Sir S. Ahmad "exercised more influence upon Urdu than perhaps any other single man in the nineteenth century . . . He wrote good, flowing and simple Urdu, discarding the florid style of his predecessors in journalism. . . . Ultimately, so far as prose went, he won a complete victory, and no one now thinks of writing in the style of Surūr when he has before him as a model the forceful and straightforward writing of Sir Sayyid".

In the latter part of his life S. Ahmad was the leading personality among the Muhammadans of India. He was undoubtedly the greatest man produced by Indian Islām in the nineteenth century.

Sir Saiyid's numerous works<sup>2</sup> were nearly all in Urdu. Among them were *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* (on the archæology of Delhi. Delhi 1847\*, Delhi 1853-4°, Lucknow 1876\*. French translation: *Description des monuments de Dehli en 1852, d'après le texte hindoustani de Saiyid Ahmad Khan, par M. [J. H.] Garcin de Tassy* (in, and offprinted from, the *Journal asiatique* 1860-1),

<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned in this connexion that at the time of the Mutiny S. Ahmad showed much courage and resource in saving the lives of Europeans and that he defied the prejudice against eating with Christians and defended the practice in his *Risālah i ta'ām i ahl i kitāb* published in 1285/1868-9.

<sup>2</sup> For a list of these works see "Hālī's" *Hayāt i jāwīd*, pt. 2, appendix 2.



*Tabyīn al-kalām fī tafsīr al-Taurāh wa-'l-Injīl 'alā millat al-Islām* (*The Mohomedan commentary on the Holy Bible*. Urdu and English. Pts. i (Introduction) and ii (Genesis), Ghāzīpūr 1862°. Pt. iii (St. Matthew) is described by Graham (p. 71) as "now in the press"<sup>1</sup>), *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (an Urdu translation and commentary. Vols. i and ii, 'Alīgarh 1880°. Vol. vi 1309/1891-2.<sup>2</sup> Part of the series entitled *Taṣānīf i Ahmadiyah*. Six volumes (to the end of Sūrah xvii) were published and a seventh (to Sūrah xxi, completing about half of the work) was ready for the press when Sir Saiyid died), *Ibtāl i ghulāmī*, on the evils of the slave trade, Āgrah 1893,\* *Sīrat i Farīdīyah*, a life of his maternal grandfather, Āgrah 1896\*.

Among the works of which English translations<sup>3</sup> have appeared are *The loyal Mohammedans of India* (on the Muḥammadans who remained loyal to the Government, saved the lives of Europeans and rendered other services at the time of the Mutiny), 1860-1 (see Graham pp. 58-69, where some extracts are given but where the place of publication is not mentioned, and *Oriental College Magazine* xiii no. 2 p. 13, where it is said that this publication was issued in parts as a sort of periodical in Urdu and English), *A series of essays on the life of Mohammed and subjects subsidiary thereto*, vol. i, London 1870\*<sup>4</sup>, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans*,<sup>5</sup> Benares 1872\*, *The causes of the Indian revolt*. Written [in 1858] . . . in Urdu . . . and translated . . . by his two European friends [Auckland Colvin and G. F. I. Graham], Benares 1873\*, *On the present state of Indian politics*, Allahabad 1888\*.

<sup>1</sup> According to the B.M. catalogue only pts. i and ii were published.

<sup>2</sup> See *Hayāt i jāwīd*, pt. 2, appendix 2, p. 3, where 1296-1309 is given as the date of the publication of the *Tafsīr*.

<sup>3</sup> It is not necessarily to be assumed that these works were ever published in the original Urdu.

<sup>4</sup> Only one volume seems to have been published. The Urdu title seems to have been *Khutabāt i Ahmadiyah*: see S. M. 'Abd Allāh's article in the *Oriental College Magazine* vol. xiii no. 2 p. 15, where no date or place of publication is mentioned and where it is not stated whether the work appeared in Urdu as well as in English.

<sup>5</sup> A reply to W. W. Hunter's *The Indian Musalmans: are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?* (London 1871\*).



Collections of his lectures and speeches were published under the titles *Lakcharōn kā majmū'ah* (Lahore 1890\*), *Majmū'ah i lakchar-hā* (Sād'haurah 1892\*) and *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* (speeches delivered from 1287/1870 to 1293/1876. Vol. II published at Lahore in 1896\*). A collection of his letters compiled by his grandson, S. Ross Masood, has been published under the title *Khutūt i Sar Saiyid* (2nd ed., Badāyūn [1931]).

He was editor of the *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* (of Baranī) published at Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica) in 1860-2, of the *Tūzūk i Jahāngīrī* printed at his own presses at Ghāzīpūr and 'Alīgarh in 1863-4 and of the *Ā'in i Akbarī* published by Nawal Kishōr at Lucknow in 1869.

*Jām i Jam*, written for R. N. C. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton, Commissioner of Āgrah,<sup>1</sup> and completed in Šafar 1255/1839, tabulated information (viz. title, father's name, mother's name, race (Lōd'hī, Chaghatāy etc.), date of birth, place of accession, date of accession, poetical chronogram, if any, for that date, length of reign, length of life, date of death, poetical chronogram, if any, for that date, posthumous title, if any, place of burial, observations) concerning the Muḥammadan sovereigns of Delhi from the time of Tīmūr, who comes first followed by Nuṣrat Shāh, to that of the last Tīmūrid, Bahādur Shāh : **Rieu** i 284b (A.D. 1839), **Lindesiana** p. 111 no. 416 (A.H. 1258/1842), **Bānkipūr** vii 595 (A.H. 1266/1849-50), 596, **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (*Dībāchah* only. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. iii/1 (Nov. 1926) p. 66), **I.O.** 4030 (transcribed apparently from a Delhi edition of 1268).

Editions : **Akbarābād** [i.e. Āgrah, not Delhi, as stated in the B.M. Catalogue] 1840°, **Delhi** 1268/1851-2 (from which the I.O. MS. mentioned above was apparently transcribed).

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 430-1.

[His genealogy in the preface to the *Jām i Jam* and in the *Khutabāt i Ahmadiyah* (and also in *Hayāt i jāwīd* Pt. 2, appendix 1); Garcin de Tassy *Histoire de la littérature hindoue et hindoustanie*, seconde éd., tome iii (Paris 1871), pp. 37-41; Beale

<sup>1</sup> See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian biography*.



*Oriental biographical dictionary* under Sayyad Ahmad; *Safar-nāmah i Panjāb* [an Urdu account of S. Ahmad's visit to the Panjāb in 1884], by S. Iqbāl 'Alī, 'Alīgarh 1884; G. F. I. Graham *The life and work of Syed Ahmed Khan*, Edinburgh and London 1885 (portrait frontispiece); G. F. I. Graham *Reviews on Syed Ahmed Khan's life and work*, 'Alīgarh 1886; *Hayāt i jāwīd* [a detailed Urdu biography], by Altāf Husain "Hālī", Cawnpore 1901 (portrait frontispiece); G. Zaidān *Mashāhīr al-sharq* [in Arabic], pt. ii (Cairo 1903), pp. 67-74 (Portrait p. 67); *Hayāt i Sar Saiyid Ahmad* [an Urdu translation by M. Fārūq of Zaidān's notice], 'Alīgarh 1903; Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 7; *Ency. Isl.* under Ahmed Khān (Blumhardt); Nizāmī Badāyūnī *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* [in Urdu], i pp. 315-16; Ram Babu Saksena *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, pp. 269-72; *Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan. By H. G. Rawlinson* (in *Islamic culture*, iv/3 (July 1930) pp. 389-96); T. Grahame Bailey *A history of Urdu literature* pp. 85-6; *Unnīswīn ṣadī kā ēk muṣannif aur mufakkir*, by S. M. 'Abd Allāh (in the *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. xiii, no. 2 (Lahore, Feb. 1937) pp. 3-25, no. 4 (August 1937) pp. 20-31, *in progress*.)

655. In 1262/1846 was composed

*Tārīkh i Hindūstān* : 'Alīgarh Subh. MSS. p. 58 no. 11 (defective at end).

656. It was in 1264/1848 that **M. Ridā** "Najm" **Ṭabāṭabā**<sup>1</sup> (for whom see p. 148 *supra*) completed his

*Akhbārāt i Hind* (chronogram), a general history of India to A.H. 1264/1848 dedicated to Sir H. Elliot, forming vol. v of the author's historical encyclopædia *Bahr al-zakḥkhār* and consisting largely of matter abridged from vol. iii (*Majma' al-mulūk*, see p. 148 *supra*) and vol. iv (*Mafātīḥ al-rī'āsat*, see p. 523 *infra*) but with considerable additions<sup>2</sup> : **Rieu** iii 914b (circ. A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Ṭabāṭabā, not Ṭabāṭabā'ī, seems to be the form used by the author himself.

<sup>2</sup> It "includes a full and minute account of the period of dissolution of the Moghul empire" and "is chiefly based, for the last sixty years, on oral information received by the author from his father and uncle, and on his personal recollections. The copious details it contains on the rise, progress, and decline of the native states of India, down to the latest period, are nowhere else to be found in a connected form". (Rieu).



1848), 1014b ii (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1018b v (extracts only. A.D. 1849).

Account of the work by the author with full statement of contents : **Rieu** iii 1053a.

Description with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pp. of translated extracts : **Elliot and Dowson** *History of India* viii 436-440.

657. **Mir Khwurs̥hēd 'Alī** "**Khwurs̥hēd**", commonly called **Saiyid Shāh 'Alī**, b. S. Dastgīr "**Dastgīr**" translated into Persian under the title *Tārīkh i Hind* (the first part only (?) of) an English work entitled apparently *Epitome of the History of Hindoostan*, in which according to the preface the author proposed to give the history of India from the time of **Maḥmūd Ghaznawī** to the British conquest.

*Tārīkh i Hind*. Edition : **Madras** 1267/1851°\* (extending to the year A.D. 1289).

658. **Ḥakīm Jawāhir La'ī** Akbarābādī, a physician by profession, was editor of the Urdu newspaper *Akhbār al-nawāḥ wa-nuzhat al-arwāḥ* which was published at **Āgrah** and which, according to **Garcin de Tassy**, at first contained good literary and scientific articles but after 1851 became less interesting and more exclusively devoted to the news of the day. He edited also the **Etawah** newspaper published in English, Hindi and Urdu editions entitled respectively *People's Friend*, *Prajāhit* and *Muḥibb i ra'āyā*.

His works include (1) *Makhzan al-tawārīkh*, an Urdu translation of the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* (an abridgment of the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*), **Āgrah** 1853\*, (2) *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, an abridgment of the *Makhzan al-tawārīkh*, **Āgrah** 1855\*, (3) *Ma'dinīyāt* (in Urdu) on minerals and their uses, **Āgrah** 1855\*, (4) *Śakuntalā nāṭaka*, an Urdu translation from the Sanskrit of **Kālidāsa**, **Āgrah** 1873\*, (5) a Persian translation of **Mōtī La'ī's** Urdu *Pand-nāmah i kāshtkārān*, **Āgrah** 1854°.

*Tārīkh i Hind*, a history of India from the earliest times to the Second Burmese War in 1852, translated by **Jawāhir La'ī** from an Urdu original (also by **J. L. ?**). Edition : **Āgrah** 1855°\*.



[Garcin de Tassy ii 91-2.]

659. **Ghauth Muḥammad Khān** succeeded his father 'Abd al-Ghafūr **Khān** as Nawwāb of Jāōrah (a state of 568 square miles in Mālwah, Central India) in 1825 at the age of two. During the Mutiny of 1857 he rendered important services to the Government of India. He established *kōṭwālīs* in the *taḥṣīls*, where criminal cases were heard, and opened a hospital and a court of Muḥammadan law. He died in 1865.

*Majma' al-salātīn*, "tabulated lists of the emperors of Hindustan and the sovereigns of England, with statistical accounts of the provinces of India" (pp. 69). Editions: **Jāōrah** 1272/1856°, place? 1279/1862-3<sup>1</sup> (*Āṣafīyah* i p. 252 no. 257), place? 1286/1869-70 (*Āṣafīyah* i p. 252 no. 872).

[*Central India State Gazetteer Series: Western States (Mālwa) Gazetteer. Vol. V.—Part A, Text. Compiled by Capt. C. E. Luard, Bombay 1908, pp. 184-5.*]

660. **Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh Khān "Fidā'i"**,<sup>2</sup> entitled Nawwāb Daulat-Yār-Jang Bahādur, was the son of M. Ḥusain **Khush-nawīs** Iṣfahānī. A year or two after leaving Persia for the purpose of travel he conceived the desire of doing some work which should be both a present to his countrymen and a service to the language of his ancestors. He decided, therefore, to write a history of India. For some years he hesitated to undertake unaided so difficult a task and he was moreover occupied with the duties of tutor to Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī **Khān**<sup>3</sup> (*bah āmūzgārī u ham-nishīnī i Bandagān i wālā Nawwāb Faṭḥ-Jang Nizām al-Daulah Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf-Jāh Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān Bahādur nām-zad būdam*).

<sup>1</sup> The *Āṣafīyah* catalogue gives the author as Muḥtasham al-Daulah 'Abd al-Ghafūr **Khān**, but this seems to be an error.

<sup>2</sup> For his *Dīwān i ghazalīyāt* (Bombay 1310) and his *Dīwān i qaṣā'id* (Bombay 1310 likewise) see Harrassowitz's *Bücher-Katalog* 430 (1931) nos. 499 and 500 and *Āṣafīyah* i p. 730 no. 133.

<sup>3</sup> Nizām of Ḥaidarābād, born 1866, succeeded 1869, invested with full powers 4 Feb. 1884, died 1911.



Early in 1301/1883 he began the *Dāstān i turk-tāzān i Hind* and he completed it towards the end of 1303/1886.<sup>1</sup> According to the Āṣafīyah catalogue, i p. 730 no. 133, he died in 1314/1896-7.

*Dāstān i turk-tāzān i Hind*, a history of the Muḥam-madan rulers of India from M. b. Qāsim's invasion to the death of Bahādur Shāh in 1862, based mainly on English sources and written in "pure Persian".<sup>2</sup> Edition : **Bombay**<sup>3</sup> 1309/1892\*<sup>4</sup> (5 vols.).

661. Kunwar **Durgā-Parshād** "Mihr" Sandīlī, the son of Rājah D'hanpat Rāy, was born in 1846. In 1867 he succeeded his father as *ra'īs*, and in 1884 he was appointed an Honorary Magistrate of Sandīlah. He was still living in 1897. In addition to the *Gulistān i Hind* he wrote a history of Oudh, *Būstān i Awad'h*, which was published at Lucknow in 1892\*, and a *tadhkirah* of poetesses, *Ḥadīqah i 'ishrat*, published at Sandīlah in [1894\*].

*Gulistān i Hind* (alternatively, in the 1889 edition, *The Universal History of India in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee 1887*) in four *daftars* ((i) Hindu Rājahs, (ii) the Muḥam-madan period, (iii) the British period to 1877, (iv) the author and his ancestors) written in 6 months after the Jubilee *darbār* at Hardoi. Editions : **Lucknow** 1889°, **Sandīlah** 1897\*.

[*Gulistān i Hind* (Sandīlah 1897) pp. 23 etc. (portrait at beginning of book); *Būstān i Awad'h* pp. 213 etc.; *Hardoi*

<sup>1</sup> This is stated on the unnumbered leaf prefixed to the author's portrait in the 1309 edition.

<sup>2</sup> The fifth volume is consequently a glossary.

<sup>3</sup> According to a statement on the leaf prefixed to the author's portrait the work was published by Messrs. Jehangier B. Marzban & Co., Bombay. In the Bombay quarterly catalogue for the 1st quarter of 1893 the Dattaprasad Press, Bombay, is given as the place of printing. According to the title-page the work was printed *dar chāp-khānah i khānagī i Nawwāb i nāmāh-nigār u ba-nigārānī i khwudashān*.

<sup>4</sup> This is the date of publication by Messrs. J. B. Marzban according to the statement mentioned in the previous note.



*District Gazetteer* pp. 71, 85 ; Portrait in *An illustrated historical album of the Rajas and Taalugdars of Oudh compiled and illustrated by Darogah Haji Abbas Ali*, Allahabad 1880\*, no. 90.]

662. **Mirzā Muḥammad** b. M. Rafī', entitled *Malik al-kuttāb*, **Shirāzī** was born at *Shirāz* in 1269/1852-3. In 1285 he settled in Bombay and there he founded the bookselling and publishing business in connexion with which he was best known. In 1300/1882-3 the title of *Malik al-kuttāb* was conferred on him by the Persian Government and in 1317/1899-1900 that of *Khān Ṣāhib* by the Government of India.

His works include (1) *Iksīr al-tawārīkh wa-Siyar al-a'imma* (see p. 210 *supra*), (2) *Mir'āt al-zamān* (see p. 432 *supra*), (3) *Tārīkh i Inglīstān* (see p. 429 *supra*), (4) *Tārīkh i qadīm Yūnān* (see p. 429 *supra*), (5) *Alf nahār*, "anecdotes and reflections on various subjects" (Edwards), Bombay 1313/1896°, (6) *Āyāt al-wilāyah*, a defence of the claims of 'Alī and the 12 Imāms to the Caliphate, Bombay [1898°], (7) *Miftāḥ al-rizq*, on the mutual relations of employers and employed, Bombay 1315/1898°, (8) *Kashf al-ṣinā'ah*, or *Muntakhabāt i Muḥammadī*, an account of various arts, Bombay 1311/1894°, (9) *Tadhkirat al-khawātīn*, notices of Islāmic poetesses, Bombay 1306/1889°, (10) *Tuhfat al-khawātīn*, on the hygiene of married women, Bombay 1325/1907°.

Among the books published by him was the *Tadhkirah* of Daulat-Shāh (Bombay 1887°).

*Zīnat al-zamān fī tārīkh Hindūstān mausūm bah Tāj al-tawārīkh wa-sulālat al-siyar*.<sup>1</sup> Edition : place ? 1310/1892-3 (see *Āṣafīyah* iii p. 104 no. 1036).

[Prāg Narāyan Bhārgava *Ṣaḥīfah i zarrīn* (in Urdu), Lucknow 1902, Bombay section p. 97.]

<sup>1</sup> The *Āṣafīyah* catalogue gives no particulars which would show whether this work deals with the history of India in general or with a special period.



## 663. APPENDIX

(1) *Kanz i mahfūz*,<sup>1</sup> a history in nine *raudaḥs* subdivided into *hātifahs* by "Mirzā Mahdi Samad b. 'Alī 'l-Hādī 'Alīm ad-dīn Muḥammad Mahdi" [sic]: Eton 178.

(2) *Nasab al-ansāb*, a general history of India: *Lindesiana* p. 201 no. 881 (A.H. 1210/1795).

(3) *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, a brief review of Indian dynasties to 1208/1793-4, apparently different from Ethé 409: *Ivanow* 180 (mid 19th cent.).

(4) *Tadhkirat al-salāṭīn*, by Abū 'l-Qāsim Nūr-Muḥammad: *Lindesiana* p. 109 no. 419 (circ. A.D. 1770).

(5) *Tārīkh i Kār-nāmah* [?], metrical narratives relating *inter alia* to M. b. Sām, Qutb al-Dīn Aibak and Īltutmish<sup>2</sup>: *Rehatsek* p. 131 no. 16 (inadequately described).

(6) *Tārīkh i salāṭīn i Dihlī*, *manẓūm* (? identical with the preceding): *Āṣafīyah* i p. 226 no. 673.

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (b) SULTĀNS OF DELHI

(See also § 663 nos. (5) and (6))

664. In consequence of the disturbed state of *Khurāsān* *Ḥasan Nizāmī*<sup>3</sup> left his native place *Nishāpūr* and went first to *Ghaznī* and then to Delhi. Encouraged by the *Ṣadr Sharaf al-Mulk* and other friends to produce a literary work he obeyed a royal command recently issued and began in 602/1205-6 to

<sup>1</sup> Apparently different from the *Kanz al-mahfūz* of which the second volume, a history of India to 1150/1737-8, is described in Elliot and Dowson viii pp. 37-9 (the only MS. known to Elliot belonged to Sa'id al-Dīn Aḥmad *Khān* of Murādābād and lacked the first volume. Cf. Rieu iii 1050b ix).

<sup>2</sup> Possibly this and no. 6 may be copies, or parts, of "Iṣāmī's" *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* (see p. 433 *supra*).

<sup>3</sup> In the *Raudat al-safā'* i p. 7 and in *H.Kh.* ii p. 92 he is called *Ṣadr al-Dīn* M. b. *Ḥasan al-Nizāmī*. On the title-page of the B.M. MS. Add. 24,951 his name is written *Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Nizāmī*. In the preface he calls himself *Ḥasan i Nizāmī* (cf. the extract quoted in *JRAS.* 1868 p. 435).



write a record of the glorious deeds of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn M. b. Sām (assassinated at Ghaznī in Sha'bān 602).

(*Tāj al-ma'āthir*), a verbose, rhetorical and uninformative account, in prose and verse, of the Indian wars of Mu'izz al-Dīn, Quṭb al-Dīn Aibak (who reigned A.H. 602/1206–607/1210 and to whom the work is chiefly devoted) and Īltutmish, extending (in most copies) from Mu'izz al-Dīn's conquest of Ajmēr in 587/1191 to Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd's appointment as Governor of Lahore in 614/1217<sup>1</sup>: H.Kh. ii p. 92 no. 2051, **Faid Allāh Efendi** 1402 = Tauer 536 (A.H. 694/1295), **Rieu** i 239a (A.H. 711/1312), 240a (A.H. 818/1416), 240a (16th cent.), 240b (A.H. 1034/1625), iii 1014a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1045a (extracts with a summary of the work), **Āyā Ṣūfiyah** 2847b = Tauer 537 (A.H. 716/1316–17), 2991 = Tauer 539 (A.H. 750/1349), 2847a = Tauer 540 (A.H. 795/1392–3), **Lālā Ismā'il** 299 = Tauer 538 (A.H. 740/1340), **Berlin** 478 (defective, about  $\frac{3}{5}$  of the work. A.H. 755/1354), **Bloch** i 554 (A.H. 781/1379), 555 (defective at end. Early 15th cent.), 556 (A.H. 870/1465), **Flügel** ii 951 (A.H. 859/1455), **Fātiḥ** 4204 = Tauer 541 (A.H. 867/1462–3), **Gotha** 29 (A.H. 915/1510), 30 (n.d.), **Dorn** 307 (A.H. 980/1572–3), **Muṣṭafā Efendi** 601 = Tauer 542 (10th/16th cent.), **Bodleian MS.** Pers. e. 29 (A.H. 1034/1624–5), **Majlis** 220 (A.H. 1041/1631–2), **Ivanow** 110 (18th cent.), **Aḥmad Thālith** 2637 = Tauer 543, **Browne** Suppt. 224 (King's 68), **Ethé** 209 (tolerably old), 210 (n.d.), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 220 no. 283, **Salemann-Rosen** p. 12 no. 578.

Translation of extracts ('all that is of the remotest historical interest in the work'): Elliot and Dowson *History of India* ii pp. 204–43.

Descriptions: (1) Hammer-Purgstall *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen grosser moslemischer Herrscher* iv pp. 172–82,

<sup>1</sup> At this point the author concludes by saying that, if his life is spared, he will continue the work in the same manner. That he actually did so seems probable from the fact that according to H. M. Elliot (*History of India* ii p. 210) Nawwāb Diyā' al-Dīn of Delhi possessed a MS. dated 779/1377–8, in which, though imperfect at the end, the narrative was carried down to A.H. 626/1228–9. The MS. was used by Elliot, whose extracts extend to that year.



(2) W. Nassau Lees *Materials for the history of India* . . . (in the *JRAS.* 1868) pp. 433-38, (3) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* ii 204-12.

[*Tāj al-ma'āthir*, preface ; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* ii pp. 207-8 ; Rieu i 239 ; *Ency. Isl.* under Nizāmī (Berthels).]

665. Amīr<sup>1</sup> **Khusrau**<sup>2</sup> **Dihlawī** was born in 651/1253<sup>3</sup> at Paṭiyālī,<sup>4</sup> an old town now in the Etah District of the United Provinces. His father, whom he calls Saif i Shamsī and whom Firishtah calls Amīr Saif al-Dīn Maḥmūd, was a Turk<sup>5</sup> in the employ of Shams al-Dīn Īltutmish<sup>6</sup> (reigned A.H. 607/1210-633/1235) and his successors : his mother was a daughter of 'Imād al-Mulk, a high official in Balban's reign (see Baranī pp. 114-17, Waḥīd Mīrzā pp. 29-31).

Even at the age of eight, he tells us, he was already composing poetry (*Dībāchah i Tuhfat al-ṣighar*, Waḥīd Mīrzā p. 21). He was still a mere boy when Balban came to the throne in 664/1265. In this reign he attached himself successively to three high officials, namely (1) 'Alā' al-Dīn Kishlū Khān, Balban's nephew and *Bār-bak* or Chamberlain (*Dībāchah i Ghurrat al-kamāl*, Waḥīd Mīrzā p. 38), (2) Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān,

<sup>1</sup> According to Firishtah (Lucknow 1865) ii p. 402 penult., it was in Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī's reign that Khusrau became an *amīr* (*mānand i birādar u pidar az umarā gardīd*). Daulat-Shāh implies that it was in 'Alā' al-Dīn's reign.

<sup>2</sup> According to Firishtah his original name (*nām i aṣlī*) was Abū 'l-Ḥasan.

<sup>3</sup> This date seems to have been inferred from several statements made by Khusrau concerning his age at different times. Thus it appears from the preface to the *Ghurrat al-kamāl* that he was 34 years old in 685 and 43 in 693. Towards the end of the *Qirān al-sa'dain* (Lucknow 1885, p. 174 penult.) he says that he was 36 in Ramaḍān 688.

<sup>4</sup> Khusrau describes India as his *maulid* (in the *Nuh sipihr* : see Waḥīd Mīrzā p. 17 n. 3) but does not specify the actual place of his birth. Badā'ūnī, however, in one of the places where he mentions Paṭiyālī (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* ii p. 43<sup>14-15</sup>) describes it as a *qaṣabah* on the bank of the Ganges and the *maulid u mansha'* i Mīr Khusrau. (Badā'ūnī himself had a connexion with Paṭiyālī, since he was at one time in the service of Ḥusain Khān, Jāgīrdār of that place.) Cf. *Safīnat al-auliya'* p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Khusrau calls himself an Indian Turk (*Turk i Hindustānī*) in the *Dībāchah i Ghurrat al-kamāl* (cf. Waḥīd Mīrzā p. 34).

<sup>6</sup> *Jahān ba-quwwat i ū mī-girift Īltutmish kih bar-kashīdah Khudāyash zi qabḍah i qudrat* (*Dībāchah i Ghurrat al-kamāl*, quoted by Waḥīd Mīrzā).



Balban's younger son, who was Governor of Sāmānah and whom he accompanied on Balban's expedition against Lak'hnautī in the 14th year of the reign (Wahīd Mīrẓā pp. 41-3), (3) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Sulṭān Muḥammad, Balban's elder son, the Governor of Multān, with whom he remained<sup>1</sup> for five years<sup>2</sup> until 683/1284-5, when he was killed in battle against the Mongols (Khusrau himself was taken prisoner but escaped<sup>3</sup>). In 685/1286 or 686/1287 Balban was succeeded by Mu'izz al-Dīn Kai-Qubād, the son of Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān. Khusrau was invited to court, but, fearing the hostility of the powerful Malik Nizām al-Dīn, he declined and became a *protégé* of Hātim Khān, whom he accompanied to Oudh when Kai-Qubād went to meet his father Bughrā Khān. Hātim Khān was then appointed Governor of Oudh and Khusrau remained with him there unwillingly for a time. On his return to Delhi he wrote the *Qirān al-sa'dain* (completed in Ramaḍān 688/1289) at the king's request to commemorate his meeting with his father in Oudh. Khusrau's *Asp-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* included in the *Ghurraṭ al-kamāl*, was dedicated to Hātim Khān (cf. Baranī p. 118<sup>8</sup>, Wahīd Mīrẓā p. 162).

In the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrōz Shāh Khaljī (A.H. 689/1290-695/1295) Khusrau was appointed *Muṣḥaf-dār* and was given an annual stipend of 1200 *tankahs* (Baranī pp. 197-8). Baranī calls him *Malik al-nudamā i majlis i sulṭān* (p. 200<sup>1</sup>), mentions him second in his list of nine *nadīmān i majlis i sulṭān* (p. 199<sup>2</sup>) and says that every day he produced new *ghazals* in the sulṭān's *majlis* and that he received many presents (*in'ām*) from the sulṭān, who was enamoured (*shīftah*) of his *ghazals* (p. 199<sup>7-8</sup>). Four victories of this king are described in the *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ*, which was completed in Jumādā ii 690/1291.

'Alā' al-Dīn M. Shāh Khaljī reigned from 695/1295 to 715/1315. Khusrau accompanied him on his expedition against Chittaur (in 702 or 703) and narrated his victories from 695 to 711 in

<sup>1</sup> According to *Firishtah* (Lucknow 1865), ii p. 402<sup>15</sup> he held the office of *Muṣḥaf-dār*, his friend Amīr Ḥasan Dihlawī being *Dawāt-dār*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dībāchah i Ghurraṭ al-kamāl*, Baranī p. 67, Wahīd Mīrẓā p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Dībāchah i Ghurraṭ al-kamāl*, Baranī p. 110, Wahīd Mīrẓā pp. 60-2.



the prose work *Khazā'in al-futūḥ* completed in the latter year. The *mathnawī Duwal Rānī Khadīr Khān* belongs also to this reign, since it was originally completed in 715 and ended with *Khidr Khān's* marriage.<sup>1</sup> All the five poems of *Khusrau's Khamsah* are dedicated to 'Alā' al-Dīn. According to Baranī (p. 366<sup>17-18</sup>) *Khusrau* received from 'Alā' al-Dīn a stipend (*mawājib*) of only 1000 *tankahs* and was not honoured at court as his merits deserved.<sup>2</sup>

The early part of the reign of Qutb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh *Khaljī* (A.H. 716/1316-720/1320) is the subject of the *Nuh sipihr* completed in Jumādā i 718/1318.

The accession of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (reigned 720/1320-725/1325) and the events which led to it were celebrated by *Khusrau* in the *Tughluq-nāmah*. When the king led his expedition into Bengal (in 724/1324 according to *Firishtah*) *Khusrau* accompanied him and so was absent from Delhi when his *pir* Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' died. A few months later, in 725/1325,<sup>3</sup> *Khusrau* himself died and was buried in a tomb adjacent to that of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya'. He had lived to see the first few months of the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq, whose entrance into Delhi after his accession is the subject of a poem in the *Nihāyat al-kamāl*.

*Khusrau* is considered the greatest of India's Persian poets. He is also counted as a saint. Tradition credits him with original contributions to the art of music, and it is said that even to-day he is recognised by Indian *qawwāls* as their master (see *Wahīd Mirzā* p. 239).

According to *Firishtah* *Khusrau* wrote 92 books (*nawad u dū*

<sup>1</sup> In Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq's reign *Khusrau* added a continuation telling of *Khidr Khān's* estrangement from his father 'Alā' al-Dīn, his confinement in the fortress of Gwalior, his blinding by Malik Kāfūr and finally his murder at the hands of his brother Mubārak Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> u Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn īn-chunīn nādirah i shu'arā u fuḍalā-yi salaf u khalaf rā hamīn yak hazār tankah mawājib dādī u dar pīsh i khwud mubajjal u mukarram na-gardānīdī.

<sup>3</sup> The day and month are variously given, e.g. 29 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah (*Firishtah*), 18 Shawwāl (*Safīnat al-auliya'*), 18 Rabī' ii (*Sprenger* p. 466, from the *Ādāb al-tālibīn*).



*kitāb dar silk i nazm kashīdah*). If this is correct, a large part of his work has perished, but what remains is of considerable extent. Still preserved are

- (1) five *dīwāns*, viz. (a) *Tuhfat al-ṣiḡhar*, poems of adolescence (from the age of fifteen, or sixteen,<sup>1</sup> to nineteen), (b) *Wasat al-ḥayāt*, poems of middle life (from the age of nineteen, twenty, or twenty-four,<sup>1</sup> to thirty-two, or thirty-four<sup>1</sup>), (c) *Ghurraṭ al-kamāl*, poems of maturity (from the age of thirty-four to forty-three) collected (originally) in 693 but poems of a later date are included, (d) *Baqīyah i naqīyah*, completed not earlier than 715, since it contains an elegy on Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn, (e) *Nihāyat al-kamāl*, which includes at least one poem written in 725 (Edition : Delhi 1332/1914\*).

There are in existence a number of MSS. bearing the title *Dīwān i Khusrāu* and containing several different selections, mainly *ghazals*, from the first four of these *dīwāns* (e.g. Rieu ii 610b, 614b–615a). One such selection, ostensibly made by the poet himself, has been published under the title *Kullīyāt i 'anāṣir*<sup>2</sup> *i dawāwīn i Khusrāu* by Nawal Kishōr ([Cawnpore 1871\*, 1874°, 1886°] Cawnpore 1916‡ (4th ed.)). It contains 21 *qaṣā'id* (pp. 6–37), 923 *ghazals* alphabetically arranged (pp. 37–456), a few *muqatta'āt* etc. (pp. 456–60) and *rubā'īyāt* (pp. 460–6). These 923 *ghazals* may be all, or nearly all, that occur in the four *dīwāns*, but it is incorrect to say, as Rieu, Edwards and Arberry have done, that this volume contains the four *dīwāns* collected into a single *dīwān*. The *qaṣā'id* included in this selection are, for example, fewer than those in the *Tuhfat al-ṣiḡhar*, which contains 35, or in the *Wasat al-ḥayāt*, which contains 58.

- (2) a *Khamsah* modelled on "Nizāmī's" and comprising

<sup>1</sup> The ages mentioned in the different MSS. are not always the same.

<sup>2</sup> The use of this word is due to a fanciful comparison of the four *dīwāns* to the four elements, earth (*Tuhfat al-ṣiḡhar*), water (*Wasat al-ḥayāt*), air (*Ghurraṭ al-kamāl*) and fire (*Baqīyah i naqīyah*), in respect of a progress from coarseness to fineness, from lowness to highness etc.



- (a) *Matla' al-anwār*, completed in 698 (Editions : Delhi 1293/1876°, Lucknow 1303/1884°) <sup>1</sup>, (b) *Shīrīn u Khusrāu*, completed in Rajab 698 <sup>2</sup>, (c) *Majnūn Lailā*, completed likewise in 698 (Editions : [Calcutta] 1811°, Calcutta 1828° (in *Classic selections from some of the most esteemed Persian writers*, vol. i), Lucknow 1286/1869°, 1870°, [1899°], 'Aligarh 1335/1917\*), (d) *Ā'īnah i Sikandarī*, completed in 699 (Edition : 'Aligarh 1918† (? 1917)), (e) *Hasht bihisht*, completed in 701 (Editions : Lucknow 1290/1873°, 'Aligarh 1336/1918\*).
- (3) *Rasā'il al-i'jāz*, or, as it is often called, *I'jāz i Khusrāwī*, a treatise on elegant prose composition in five *risālahs*, the first four completed in 682, the last in 719, with numerous specimen documents and letters, mainly of *Khusrāu's* own writing (MSS. Ethé 1219 etc. Editions : Lucknow 1865° (vol. i only), 1876° (5 vols., of which I.O. has the first two only).

In addition to these may be mentioned the *Afdāl al-fawā'id*, a collection of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya's sayings in four parts, of which the first was presented to the saint in 719 (Edition : Delhi 1887°).

Popularly ascribed to *Khusrāu* are (1) the *Qiṣṣah i chahār darwīsh*, best known through Mīr Amman's Urdu translation *Bāgh u bahār* (see Rieu ii 762 etc.), (2) a metrical Persian-Hindi glossary known from its opening words as *Khāliq-Bārī*, (3) a number of Hindi verses and conundrums. For further information concerning these see Wahīd Mīrzā, pp. 149-50, 227-32.

(1) *Qirān al-sa'dain*, written in 3 months and completed in Ramadān 688/1289, a *mathnawī* on the meeting of Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Kai-Qubād and his father Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā Khān in 688/1289 on the banks of the Sarjū in Oudh : H.Kh. iv p. 510 no. 9399, Sprenger 329, Ethé 1186 (5) (A.H. 866-7/1462

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Wahīd Mīrzā (*op. cit.* p. 195) that an edition (date unspecified) was lithographed at 'Aligarh seems to be without foundation.

<sup>2</sup> The statement of Wahīd Mīrzā (*op. cit.* p. 197) that "The poem has been lithographed in Aligarh" seems to be without foundation.



or thereabouts), 1208 (A.H. 907/1502 ?), 1188 (11) (A.H. 933/1526-7), 1187 (10) (A.H. 1008/1599), 1209 (A.H. 1072/1662), 1210 (A.H. 1096/1685), 1211 (A.H. 1135/1723), 1212-14 (3 undated copies), 2880, **I.O. D.P.** 1253 (A.H. 1177/1763-4), **Ross & Browne** 168 (18th cent.), **Hakim-oghlū 'Alī Pāshā** 661 (A.H. 903/1497. See Duda *Ferhād und Schīrīn* p. 186), **Blochet** iii 1534 (slightly defective. Late 15th cent.), 1520 (circ. A.D. 1560), **Mashhad** iii p. 188 no. 90 (A.H. 912/1506-7), **Āyā Şūfiyah** 3912 (A.H. 917/1511. See Duda *Ferhād und Schīrīn* p. 188), **Rieu** ii 616b (Harāt, A.H. 921/1515. PICTURES), 611b (A.H. 923/1517), 617a (A.H. 1000/1591), 617a (three 18th-cent. copies), Suppt. 256 (16th cent. PICTURES), iii 1045b (analysis only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Dorn** 386 (A.H. 923-4/1517-18), 387, 388 (A.H. 974/1566-7), 393 (superb copy), **Lindesiana** p. 180 no. 71 (circ. A.D. 1560), no. 89 (circ. A.D. 1750), no. 256 (circ. A.D. 1760), **Yildiz Köshkü** 473 (2nd half of 16th cent. See Edhem and Stchoukine pp. 38-9), **Ivanow** 563 (defective. 16th-17th cent.), 564 (A.H. 1100/1688-9 ?), 565 (A.H. 1170/1756-7), 2nd Suppt. 980 (defective. Mid 19th cent.), **Bühār** 315 (A.H. 1030/1621), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (two copies, one dated A.H. 1098/1686 the other undated. See *Oriental College Magazine* vol. iii no. 3 (May 1927) p. 73), **Bodleian** 773 (A.H. 1102/1691 ?), 774 (A.H. 1169/1755), 775 (n.d.), **Peshawar** 1789 (A.H. 1108/1696-7), 1833, **Berlin** 833 (fairly old), **Browne** Suppt. 921 (fairly old. Corpus 97), 920 (n.d. Corpus 14), Pers. Cat. 254 (n.d.), 340 ii (p. xxxviii. Defective at end), **Bānkipūr** i 130 (A.H. 1246 ?), **'Aligarh** Subh. MSS. p. 38, **Āsafiyah** ii p. 1484 no. 177, **Edinburgh** 291, **Eton** 132, **Leyden** ii p. 116 no. 663, **Madras**, **Nūr i 'Uthmāniyah** 3780 (n.d. See Duda *Ferhād und Schīrīn* p. 190), **Rehatsek** p. 157.

Editions: [**Lucknow**,] 1261/1845°\* (with a marginal commentary by Qudrat Ahmad), **Cawnpore** 1871†, 1302/1885†† (on the title-page, evidently unaltered from that of the previous edition, are the dates 1287/1870), [**Tihrān**, 1886°], **'Aligarh** 1918† (ed. S. Hasan Barnī. *Silsilah i Kulliyāt i Khusrāu*).

Abstracts: (1) *The Kirān-us-Sā'dain of Mīr Khusrāu*.—By E. B. Cowell (in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*,



N.S., vol. xxix (1860) pp. 225-39), (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 524-34.

Descriptions : (1) M. Ḥabīb *Hazrat Amir Khusrau* pp. 46-52, (2) Wahīd Mīrzā *The life and works of Amir Khusrau* pp. 174-6.

Commentaries : (1) *Sharḥ i Qirān al-sa'dain* or, according to Sprenger *Nūr al-'ain sharḥ Qirān al-sa'dain*, written in 1014/1605-6 and dedicated to the author's father, Shaikh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (for whom see p. 440 *supra*), by Nūr-Muḥammad, called (*al-mad'ū bi-*) Nūr al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī (for whom see p. 441 *supra*) : Sprenger 330, **Rieu** ii 617b (A.H. 1136/1723), **Ivanow** Curzon 220 (A.H. 1207/1793), **I.O.** D.P. 1239 (18th cent.), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (2 copies. See *Oriental College Magazine* vol. iii no. 3 (May 1927) p. 73), (2) *Sharḥ i Qirān al-sa'dain* (written in 1135/1722-3 ? <sup>1</sup>) by Khair Allāh Muhandis Dihlawī : **Ivanow** Curzon 221 (lacuna in middle. A.H. 1207/1793), 222 (same lacuna. A.H. 1248/1833), **Ivanow** 566 = Sprenger 471 (very incomplete at end. 19th cent.), (3) *Sharḥ i Qirān al-sa'dain* by 'Abd al-Rasūl Qāsim of Garah (about forty miles E. of Lucknow) : Sprenger p. 471 (*Tōp-khānah*).

(2) *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ*, *Fath-nāmah*, or *Fath al-futūḥ*, a *mathnawī* on four victories of Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrōz Khaljī, completed in Jumādā ii 690/1291 and forming part of the third *dīwān*, the *Ghurraṭ al-kamāl* : H.Kh. vi p. 27 no. 12584, **Ethé** 1186 (11) (A.H. 866-7/1462 or thereabouts), 1188 (14) (A.H. 933/1526-7), 1187 (13) (defective. A.H. 1008/1599), 1190 (4), 1192, **Bānkipūr** i p. 180 (15th cent.), **Ḥakīm-oghlu** 'Alī **Pāshā** 661 (A.H. 903/1497. See H. W. Duda *Ferhād und Schīrīn* p. 187), 651 (n.d. See Duda p. 190), **Āyā Ṣūfiyah** 3912 (A.H. 917/1511. See Duda *op. cit.* p. 188), **Rieu** ii 611a vi (A.H. 923/1517), 614a (17th cent.), iii 1012a ii (A.D. 1849), **Dorn** 386 (A.H. 924/1518), **Bodleian** 754-5, and doubtless in other MSS. of the *Ghurraṭ al-kamāl*, for which see the section of this work devoted to poetry.

Edition : *Oriental College Magazine* vol. xii no. 3 (Lahore.

<sup>1</sup> Ivanow Curzon 221 claims to be the transcript of an autograph dated 1135 (a date (or a statement) which Ivanow regards as "rather suspicious").



May 1936) pp. 58–70, no. 4 (Aug. 1936) pp. 93–108, vol. xiii no. 1 (Nov. 1936) pp. 59–70, no. 2 (Feb. 1937) pp. 73–80 (Editor Yā-Sīn Khān Niyāzī).

Abstract : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 536–44.

Description : Wahīd Mīrzā *The life and works of Amir Khusrau* pp. 176–7.

(3) *Khazā'in al-futūḥ*, as the author calls it, or *Tārīkh i 'Alā'ī*, as it is sometimes called, an ornate prose account of the victories of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khālījī completed in 711/1311–12 : **Āṣafīyah** i p. 122 no. 178 (Aurangzēb's 3rd year = A.H. 1070/1659–60), **Brelvi and Dhabhar** p. 76 no. 4 (1) (? Author not stated. A.H. 1147/1734–5), **Rieu** i 240b (18th cent.), iii 919a (A.H. 1253/1838), 1045b (abstract only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Browne** Suppt. 427 (A.H. 1200/1785–6. King's 158), **Madras**.

Edition : *The Khazainul Futuh of Hazrat Amir Khusru [sic] of Delhi. Persian text. Edited by Syed Moinul Haq . . . , 'Aligarh 1927\** (Publications of the Sultania Historical Society [of the 'Aligarh Muslim University]).

Translation (with omissions) : *The campaigns of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khiljī being the Khazā'inul [sic] Futūḥ [sic] . . . of Hazrat Amīr Khusrau . . . translated . . . by Muhammad Habib, Bombay (Madras printed) 1931†* (For numerous corrections of this translation see a series of articles (in Urdu) entitled *Angrēzī tarjamah i Khazā'in al-futūḥ i Amīr Khusrau* by Ḥāfiẓ M. Maḥmūd Shērānī in the *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. xii no. 1 (Lahore, Nov. 1935) pp. 81–96, no. 2 (Feb. 1936) pp. 3–80, no. 3 (May 1936) pp. 3–51, no. 4 (Aug. 1936) pp. 3–15).

Description and abstract : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 67–92.

Description : Wahīd Mīrzā *The life and works of Amir Khusrau* pp. 222–5.

(4) *Duwal Rānī Khadīr*<sup>1</sup> Khān, or *Manshūr i shāhī*, or 'Ashīqah, or 'Ishqīyah or Khadīr-Khānī, a *mathnawī* completed

<sup>1</sup> The spelling Khidr does not suit the metre of this poem.



in *Dhū 'l-Qa'dah* 715/1316 on the love-story of *Khidr Khān*, Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn *Khaljī's* son, and the daughter of Rājah Karn of Nahrwālah, with a continuation of 319 lines written at some time subsequent to Mubārak Shāh's death and telling of *Khidr Khān's* estrangement from his father, his confinement in the fortress of Gwalior, his blinding by Malik Kāfūr and his murder : H.Kh. iii p. 142 no. 4723 (*Khadr Khān Duwal-Rānī*), Sprenger 328, *Hakim-oghlū 'Alī Pāshā* 661 (A.H. 903/1497. See H. W. Duda *Ferhād und Schīrīn* p. 187), *Āyā Sūfiyah* 3912 (A.H. 917/1511. See Duda *op. cit.* p. 187), Lahore Panjāb Univ. Lib. (3 copies, one dated A.H. 917/1511. See *Oriental College Magazine* vol. iii no. 3 (May 1927) p. 73), *Rieu* ii 612*a* (A.H. 923/1517), 617*b* (A.H. 982/1574. 3 PICTURES), 617*b* (early 16th cent. 6 PICTURES), 618*a* (17th cent.), 817*a* (A.H. 1004/1596. PICTURES), iii 1045*b* (analysis only. Circ. A.D. 1850), *Dorn* 386 (A.H. 923-4/1517-18), 387, 393 (superb copy), 398 (A.H. 983/1575), 397 (A.H. 987/1579-80), *Ethé* 1188 (12) (A.H. 933/1527-7), 1187 (11) (A.H. 1008/1599), 1215 (17th cent.), 1216 (A.H. 1220/1806), 1217 (fragment. 17th and 18th cent.), *Bloch* iii 1520 (circ. A.D. 1560), 1530 (late 16th cent.), 1531 (A.H. 1010/1602), 1532 (mid 17th cent.), 1533 (mid 18th cent.), 1537 (late 17th cent.), *Lindesiana* p. 180 no. 49 (A.H. 989/1581. PICTURES), *Yildiz Köshkü* 473 (2nd half of 16th cent. See Edhem and Stchoukine pp. 38-9), *Aumer* 65 (A.H. 995/1587), *Bānkipūr* i 131 (A.H. 995/1587), *Āṣafiyah* ii p. 1488 no. 141 (not later than A.H. 999/1590-1), p. 1486 no. 156 (A.H. 1065/1654-5), 236 (Aurangzēb's 23rd year), *Bodleian* 777 (A.H. 1012/1604), 778 (A.H. 1064/1654), 779 (n.d. PICTURES), *Būhār* 315 (A.H. 1030/1621), *Ivanow* 567 (A.H. 1100/1688-9), 568 (early 17th cent.), *Browne* Suppt. 965 (n.d.), 966 (A.H. 1112/1700-1), 967 (transcribed from an A.S.B. MS.), 968 (n.d.), 969 (n.d. Christ's), *Madras, R.A.S.* P. 282, *Rehatsek* p. 155 no. 101.

Edition : *Dawal-Rānī* [so] *Khidr Khān*, 'Aligarh 1336/1917<sup>+</sup> (edited by Rashīd Aḥmad).

Abstract : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 544-57

Descriptions : (1) M. Ḥabīb *Hazrat Amir Khusrau* pp. 53-66  
(2) Wahīd Mīrzā *The life and works of Amir Khusrau* pp. 177-81.



(5) *Nuh sipihr*, completed on 30 Jumādā ii 718 (according to Elliot *History of India* iii 557), a *mathnawī* describing the court of Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh : H.Kh. vi p. 411 no. 14127, **Hakim-oghlū ‘Alī Pāshā** 661 (A.H. 903/1497. See Duda *Ferhād und Schīrīn* p. 187), **Āyā Šūfiyah** 3912 (A.H. 917/1511. See Duda *Ferhād und Schīrīn* p. 187), **Majlis** 455 (? beginning differs from the usual. A.H. 923/1517), **Rieu** ii 612a (A.H. 923/1517), iii 1045b (analysis only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Dorn** 386 (A.H. 923-4/1517-18), 387, **Ethé** 1188 (13) (A.H. 933/1526-7), 1187 (12) (A.H. 1008/1599), 1218 (n.d.), **Blochet** iii 1520 (circ. A.D. 1560), **Yildiz Köshkü** 473 (16th cent. (2nd half). See Edhem and Stchoukine pp. 38-9), **Bühār** 315 (A.H. 1030/1620-1), **Bodleian** 776 (17th cent.), **Ethé** 1218 (n.d.).

Abstract : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 557-66.

Description : Wahīd Mīrzā *The life and works of Amir Khusrau* pp. 181-9.

(6) *Tughluq-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* on the victory of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq over Khusrau Khān in 720/1320 : H.Kh. ii p. 321 no. 3112 (*Ta‘alluq-nāmah* [sic]), MS. in the possession of Nawwāb Šadr-Yār-Jang Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān Khān Shirwānī, of Bhikampūr (‘Aligarh District).

Edition : **Haidarābād** (Aurangābād printed) 1352/1933† (*Silsilah i makhtūtāt i fārisīyah*, 1. Edited by S. Hāshimī Farīdābādī).

Descriptions : (1) Syed Hashimi *The Tughluq-namah* (in *Islamic culture* viii/2 (April 1934) pp. 301-12, viii/3 (July 1934) pp. 413-24), (2) Wahīd Mīrzā *The life and works of Amir Khusrau* pp. 189-90, 245-53.

[Autobiographical sketch at end of *dībāchah* to *Ghurrat al-kamāl*; autobiographical statements in *dībāchah* to *Tuhfat al-sighar* and in other works : Baranī *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* pp. 67 (= Elliot and Dowson iii p. 110), 110<sup>1-5</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 122), 113<sup>4</sup>, 118<sup>7-8</sup>, 183<sup>4</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 138), 197<sup>18-22</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 144), 198<sup>1-3</sup> (= E. & D. *ibid.*), 199<sup>2</sup>, 7, 8, 200<sup>1-6</sup>, 359, 366<sup>13-19</sup>; *Siyar al-auliya* pp. 301-5; *Nafahāt al-uns* pp. 710-11;



Daulat-Shāh pp. 238-47; *Majālis al-'ushshāq* pp. 256-60; *Nafā'is al-ma'āthir* (Sprenger p. 49); Taqī Kāshī (Sprenger p. 18); *Akhhār al-akhyār* pp. 99-101; *Haft iqlīm* no. 391; *Firishtah*, Nawal Kishōr [Lucknow] 1864, vol. ii pp. 402-3 (the tenth biography in *Maqālah* xii); *But-khānah* no. 30; *Safīnat al-aulyā'* pp. 98-100; *Mir'āt al-asrār* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 61, fol. 450); *Mir'āt al-khayāl* pp. 47-8 (Bodleian 374 no. 30); *Matlūb al-tālibīn* (Ethé col. 324, l. 10 from end); *Dhikr i jamī' i auliyā' i Dihlī*; *Sawāti' al-anwār* (Ethé col. 334, l. 32); *Muntakhab al-ash'ār* no. 189; *Riyād al-shu'arā'*; *Khizānah i 'āmīrah* no. 39; *Ātash-kadah* no. 754; *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 141 no. 22, Bodleian 390 no. 23); *Khulāṣat al-afkār* no. 89; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 668; *Aḥwāl i Amīr Khusrau* (MS. Ethé 1222); Sprenger pp. 465-71; *Khazīnat al-asfiyā'* i pp. 339-42; *Haft āsmān* pp. 63-75; Garcin de Tassy ii 204-9; Rieu i 240-1; *Shi'r al-'Ajam* (in Urdu), by Shiblī Nu'mānī, vol. ii (pp. 85-156 in the Lucknow edition of 1341/1922-3); *Hayāt i Khusrau* (in Urdu), by M. Sa'id Aḥmad Mārahrawī, Amritsar (Lahore printed) 1909\*; *Ency. Isl.* under *Khusrū* [sic]; *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, by Mohammad Habib, Bombay 1927; *The life and works of Amir Khusrau*, by M. Wahīd Mīrzā, Calcutta 1935 (Panjab University Oriental Publications).]

666. **Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī** must have been born in, or about, 684/1285, since his age when he wrote a passage towards the end of the *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* (p. 573<sup>7-8</sup>) was 74 and he tells us in the preface that he completed the work in 758/1357. He belonged to a distinguished family. His father, Mu'ayyid al-Mulk (*T. i F.* pp. 127<sup>6</sup>, 205<sup>10</sup>), was in Jalāl al-Dīn Fīrōz-Shāh Khaljī's reign deputy (*nā'ib*) to Arkli<sup>1</sup> Khān (*T. i F.* p. 209<sup>8</sup>), and in the first year of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī's reign [A.H. 695-6] he was given the *Niyābat* and *Khawājagī* of Baran<sup>2</sup> (*T. i F.* p. 248<sup>8-9</sup>). His paternal uncle, Malik 'Alā' al-Mulk (*T. i F.* pp. 222<sup>8</sup>, 249 ult.,

<sup>1</sup> Vocalisation unconfirmed. Arkli Khān, the Sultān's second son, succeeded his elder brother in 691 as his father's vicegerent (*nā'ib i ghaibat*) at Kīlōk'hari (*T. i F.* p. 213<sup>2-3</sup>, *Arabic history of Gujarāt* p. 760<sup>7-8</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> Baran is now absorbed in the modern town of Bulandshahr.



336<sup>15</sup>), was *Kōtwāl* of Delhi in 'Alā' al-Dīn *Khaljī*'s reign (*T. i F.* pp. 240<sup>14-15</sup>, 250<sup>3</sup>, 255<sup>8-9</sup>) and was one of the king's friends and counsellors (*az mukhtaṣṣān u rāy-zanān i Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn būd*, *T. i F.* p. 255<sup>8-9</sup>). His maternal grandfather, Sipah-sālār Ḥusām al-Dīn (*T. i F.* p. 119<sup>13</sup>), *Wakīl i Dar* to Malik Bārbak, was appointed by Balban to the *Shahnagī* of Lak'hnaūtī (*T. i F.* p. 87).

Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī found a patron in Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughluq<sup>1</sup> (reigned 725/1325–752/1351) and spent 17 years and 3 months (*T. i F.* p. 504<sup>17</sup>) at his court (*mulāzim i dargāh*, *T. i F.* p. 504<sup>17</sup>, *muqarrab i dargāh*, *T. i F.* p. 497<sup>17</sup>), basking in his favour and munificence (*az in'āmāt i wāfirah u ṣadaqāt i muta-wātirah i ū zar-hā yāftah*, *T. i F.* p. 504<sup>18</sup>). He does not say that he held any official position, and it seems that he was a *nadīm* (cf. *Siyar al-auliya'* p. 313<sup>5</sup>) rather than an official. According to the *Siyar al-auliya'* 312 penult., he was an entertaining conversationalist and raconteur (*ū majma' al-latā'if wa-jawāmi' al-hikāyāt būd*).

In the reign of Fīrōz-Shāh (752/1351–790/1388) he suffered a change of fortune. His enemies procured his banishment from court (*Dushmanān-am az ḥadrat u az qurb i ū marā dūr andākhtah and*, *T. i F.* p. 125<sup>4-5</sup>. Cf. p. 557<sup>10</sup> seq. : *ba'd i naql i sultān i maql fūr dar mahālik i gūnāgūn uftādam etc.*), he was unable to submit his history to the king, a lover of history (*T. i F.* p. 125<sup>5-6</sup>), and he was in a state of misery and poverty (*T. i F.* pp. 69<sup>10-12</sup>, 114<sup>16-17</sup>, 125, 204 ult.–205<sup>12</sup>, 466<sup>21-22</sup>, 548<sup>18</sup> seq.). His last years were spent in devout retirement, during which he composed several literary works (*Siyar al-auliya'* p. 313<sup>8-10</sup>). He was buried<sup>2</sup> near to the grave of Nizām al-Dīn Auliya' (*Siyar al-auliya'* p. 313<sup>17-18</sup>), having been a *murīd* and a devoted adherent of that saint.

According to the *Siyar al-auliya'* (p. 313<sup>10-12</sup>) he was much

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *T. i F.* p. 467<sup>2-4</sup> : *Man dar dunyā pāwardah u bar-āwardah i Sultān Muḥammad am u ān-chih az ikrām u in'ām i ū yāftah būdam nah pīsh azān dīdah būdam nah ba'd az ū ba-khwāb mī būnam.*

<sup>2</sup> The date of his death is not mentioned in the *Siyar al-auliya'*. The *Khazīnat al-asfiyā'* gives the impossible date 738.



in the society of the poets Khusrau (for whom see pp. 495–505 *supra*) and Hasan Dihlawī. From both of them he received oral information which he utilised in the *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* (see, e.g., pp. 67<sup>11</sup>, 68<sup>19</sup>, 183<sup>4</sup>).

In addition to the *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* five works of his are mentioned in the *Siyar al-auliya*, namely (1) *Thanā-yi Muḥammadī ṣl'm*, (2) *Ṣalāt i kabīr*, (3) *Ināyat-nāmah i ilāhī*, (4) *Ma'āthir i sādāt*, (5) *Hasrat-nāmah* (*dar taṣawwuf*, according to Raḥmān 'Alī). Another work, the *Akhbār i Barmakiyān*, translated from an Arabic original, completed in 755/1354<sup>1</sup> and dedicated to Fīrōz-Shāh, is extant in several MSS. (e.g. Rieu i 333b, Ethé 569, Bodleian 308).

*Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī*, a history of the Sultāns of Delhi from Balban A.H. 662/1263–4 (or rather 664/1265) to Fīrōz-Shāh's sixth year, A.H. 758/1357, forming a continuation of the *Tabaqāt i Nāṣirī*: **Bloch** i 557 (defective at both ends. Mid 15th cent.), iv 2327 (17th cent.), **Rieu** iii 919 (defective at end and elsewhere. 15th cent.), 1014a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1021a (similar extracts), 1023a (similar extracts), 1045b (similar extracts), **Būhār** 61 (16th cent.), **Bānkipūr** vii 546 (from *Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq* to Fīrōz-Shāh. 16th cent.), **Ethé** 211 (A.H. 1007/1599), **Bodleian** 173 (defective. A.H. 1009/1600), 172 (A.H. 1197/1783), 174 (A.H. 1196/1782), **Ivanow** Curzon 23 (early 18th cent.), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 85 (defective and bad copy. Seal dated A.H. 1128/1716), **Lindesiana** p. 235 no. 823 (A.H. 1230/1815), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 228 no. 259, **Berlin** 477 (defective).

Edition: *The Tārīkh-i Feroz-shāhī of Ziaa al-Din Barni . . . Edited by Saiyid Ahmad Khān under the superintendence of Captain W. Nassau Lees . . . and Mawlavi Kabir al-Din, Calcutta 1860–2°\** (Bibliotheca Indica).

Translations of extracts: (1) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 97–268 (by J. Dowson), (2) *Translations from the Tārīkh i Fīrūz Shāhī, by the late Major A. R. Fuller . . . The*

<sup>1</sup> According to the Bodleian catalogue. The date is not mentioned by Rieu or in the I.O. catalogue.



*Reign of 'Aláuddín i Khiljī* (in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxxviii, pt. i (1869), pp. 181-220, vol. xxxix, pt. i (1870), pp. 1-51, (3) *Translations from the Tārīkh i Fīrūzshāhī . . . The Reign of Mu'izz-uddīn*.—By P. Whalley (in the *JASB.*, vol. xl, pt. i (1871) pp. 185-216, (4) *Translations from the Tarikh i Firuzshahi by Ziauddin of Baran . . . The Reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughluq Shah*.—Translated by Auckland Colvin (in the *JASB.*, vol. xl, pt. i (1871) pp. 217-47).

Descriptions: (1) *Materials for the history of India . . . By Major W. Nassau Lees* (in the *JRAS.* 1868) pp. 441-5, (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 93-97.

[*Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* pp. 67<sup>11-12</sup> (= Elliot and Dowson iii p. 110), 68<sup>19</sup>, 69<sup>10-12</sup>, 87<sup>13</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 116), 114<sup>1, 15-17</sup>, 119<sup>12-13</sup>, 123 penult.-125, 127<sup>4-6</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 125), 168<sup>16</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 132), 183<sup>3-4</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 138), 204 ult.-205<sup>12</sup>, 209<sup>7-10</sup>, 222<sup>8</sup>, 240<sup>14-15</sup>, 248<sup>7-9</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 161), 249 ult.-250<sup>3</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 162), 255<sup>8</sup> seq. (= E. & D. iii p. 166), 264<sup>17</sup> seq. (= E. & D. iii pp. 169-71), 349<sup>11-13</sup>, 350<sup>2-5</sup>, 350 ult.-351<sup>4</sup>, 354<sup>2-5</sup>, 354<sup>14</sup> seq., 459<sup>6</sup> seq., 466<sup>20-22</sup>, 467<sup>2-4</sup>, 497<sup>17</sup>, 504<sup>17</sup> seq. (= E. & D. iii pp. 252-3), 505 ult., 508<sup>1</sup> seq. (= E. & D. p. 253), 509<sup>16</sup> seq. (= E. & D. pp. 254-5), 516<sup>12</sup> seq. (= E. & D. pp. 259-60), 521<sup>9</sup> seq. (= E. & D. iii pp. 262-3), 529 (= E. & D. iii p. 265), 548<sup>18</sup> seq., 554<sup>7-8</sup>, 557<sup>7-8</sup>, 557<sup>10</sup> seq., 573<sup>7-8</sup>, 582<sup>11-12</sup>, 602; *Siyar al-auliya'* pp. 312-13; *Akḥbār al-akḥyār* pp. 103-5; *Riyāḍ al-auliya'*; *Khazīnat al-asfiya'* i pp. 344-6; W. Nassau Lees in *JRAS.* 1868 pp. 441-5; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 93-6; Rieu i pp. 242, 333, iii 919; Raḥmān 'Alī 97; *Ency. Isl.* under Baranī.]

667. Fīrōz b. Rajab, better known as **Fīrōz Shāh Tughluq**, succeeded his cousin, M. b. Tughluq, on 24 Muḥarram 752/20 March 1351. The wars of his reign were expeditions to Bengal, Orissa, Nagarkōṭ and Tattah. His passion for building expressed itself in the foundation of a new Delhi named Fīrōzābād, in the refounding of Ḥiṣār Fīrōzah [i.e. Ḥiṣār, N.W. of Delhi] and Jaunpūr [N.W. of Benares] and in the erection of towns, forts, mosques, colleges and other edifices. His rule was mild and he



prided himself on the abolition of torture and various imposts. He died more than eighty years old in Ramaḍān 790/September 1388.

*Futūḥāt i Fīrōz-Shāhī*, a brief account by Fīrōz Shāh of his own edicts and ordinances, the abuses and evil practices abolished by him, the buildings erected and the works of public utility carried out in his reign<sup>1</sup>: **Rieu** iii 920 (A.D. 1853).

Edition: **Delhi** 1885†.

Translation: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 374–88 (translated by J. Dowson from “a unique copy belonging to Mr. E. Thomas”).

[Baranī *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* pp. 527–602 = Elliot and Dowson iii pp. 265–8; *Shams i Sirāj Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* = E. & D. iii pp. 269–373; other histories of India; *Ency. Isl.* under Fīrūz Shāh Taghlak.]

668. In 772/1370–1, the twentieth year of Fīrōz-Shāh's reign, an anonymous author completed his

*Sīrat i Fīrōz-Shāhī*, a florid and eulogistic account of Fīrōz-Shāh in four *bābs* (182 foll.): **Bānkipūr** vii 547 (A.H. 1002/1593–4).

Description with a translation of the prologue and epilogue: *An approach to the Sīrat-i-Fīroz Shāhī*. [By] Prof. K. K. Basu . . . (in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. xxii, pt. i (March 1936) pp. 13–21).

Translation: *An account of Fīroz Shāh Tughluq (from Sīrat-i-Fīrozshāhī)*. By Prof. K. K. Basu (in *J.B.O.R.S.* vol. xxii (1936) pp. 96–107, 265–74, xxiii (1937) pp. 97–112, *in progress*).

669. **Shams i Sirāj** [i.e. *Shams al-Dīn b. Sirāj al-Dīn*] ‘**Afīf**<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This record was inscribed by Fīrūz-Shāh's order on an octagonal cupola erected by him on the mosque of Fīrūzābād (see *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī* i p. 239).

<sup>2</sup> It appears that ‘Afīf was a hereditary surname in his family, since he appends it to the names of his grandfather, *Shams i Shihāb ‘Afīf* (*T. i F.* p. 39<sup>11</sup>), and his great-grandfather, Malik Sa‘d al-Mulk *Shihāb ‘Afīf* (p. 37<sup>7-9</sup>).



says (*T. i F.* p. 310<sup>14-16</sup>) that he was twelve years old when Fīrōz-Shāh after his return from Tattah (*T. i F.* p. 305<sup>4-5</sup>) had two ancient stone columns (*manārahā-yi sangīn*, i.e. Asoka pillars) removed from Tōprah and Meerut to Delhi. Rieu, placing the return from Tattah in the year 763/1361-2,<sup>1</sup> infers that Shams i Sirāj was born in 751/1350-1, but the words used by Shams i Sirāj do not necessarily imply that the columns were removed immediately after the return from Tattah. His great-grandfather, Malik Sa'd al-Mulk Shihāb 'Afīf, was appointed 'Amal-dār of Abōhar [in the Fīrōzpūr District] by Sultān [Ghiyāth al-Dīn] Tughluq (*T. i F.* p. 37<sup>7-9</sup>).

His father was in the service of Fīrōz-Shāh (cf. *T. i F.* pp. 130 penult.-131<sup>2</sup>, 145<sup>9-10</sup>, 196<sup>11-12</sup>), at one time as *Shab-nawīs i Khawāṣṣān* (*T. i F.* p. 127<sup>16</sup>), at another time in the Wazīr's office (*dar maḥall i dīwān i wizārat*, p. 197<sup>11-13</sup>), and he was in the Sultān's suite on the expeditions to Jājnagar (pp. 163<sup>14</sup>, 172<sup>15</sup>) and Nagarkōṭ (p. 186<sup>12</sup>).

Shams i Sirāj thus grew up at the court of Fīrōz-Shāh and for many years used to accompany the officials of the Wazīr's office to the audience chamber (*T. i F.* p. 105<sup>12-15</sup>: *īn mu'arrikh i da'if . . . kih dar muddat i chihil sāl ān-ḥaḍrat rā dīdah u bīshṭar sanawāt pīsh i takht-gāh i ahl i barakāt barābar i aṣḥāb i dīwān i wizārat dar maḥall i salām raftah*. Cf. p. 281<sup>9-11</sup>: *dar-ān aiyām īn mu'arrikh i da'if . . . bar [ābar i] aṣḥāb i dīwān i 'ālī i wizārat ba-ḥukm i farmān i ḥaḍrat i jahān-dār dar maḥall i salām mī-raft*; 285<sup>12-13</sup>: *andar-ān aiyām kih īn mu'arrikh . . . dar maḥall i salām pīsh i takht mī-raft*). He used to accompany the Sultān on his hunting expeditions (*T. i F.* p. 321 ult.-322<sup>1</sup>). His *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* was written subsequently to Tīmūr's invasion of 801/1398.

The *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* (a title which does not seem to occur in the work itself) was not the whole of the author's historical writing. He wrote also about the *manāqib i Sultān [Ghiyāth al-Dīn] Tughluq* (*T. i F.* p. 36<sup>11-12</sup> = E. & D. iii p. 271), the *manāqib i Sultān Muḥammad [ibn Tughluq]* (*T. i F.* pp. 42<sup>11-13</sup>, 51<sup>5-6</sup> =

<sup>1</sup> This date does not seem to have the authority of the *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī*.



E. & D. iii pp. 274, 279), the *manāqib i Sultān Muḥammad [ibn Fīrōz]* (*T. i F.* pp. 148 ult.-149<sup>1</sup>, 428<sup>4</sup> = E. & D. iii pp. 307, 371) and about the *kharābī i Dihlī* owing to Mongol incursions after Fīrōz-Shāh's time (*T. i F.* p. 185<sup>6</sup> = E. & D. iii p. 317). These do not seem to be the titles of other works by the author. It is probable that they indicate parts of a large work now lost apart from the fragment known as the *Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī*.

(*Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī*), a life of Fīrōz-Shāh Tughluq (reigned A.H. 752/1351-790/1388) written subsequently to Tīmūr's invasion of 801/1398 (which is mentioned on p. 314) and divided into five *qisms* each subdivided into eighteen *muqaddimahs*: **Edinburgh** 204 (A.H. 1074/1663. ANALYSIS), **Ethé** 212 (defective. A.H. 1092/1681 ?), 213 (lacunæ. N.d.), **Rieu** i 241b (breaks off in 9th *muqaddimah* of *Qism* v. 19th cent.), iii 921a (breaks off at same point. A.D. 1841), 1045b (extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Ivanow** 111 (breaks off in 9th *muqaddimah* of *Qism* v. 19th cent.), 112 (breaks off in same *muqaddimah*. Late 19th cent.), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 228.

Edition: *The Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, of Shams Sirāj 'Afif, edited by Maulavi Vilayat Husain, Calcutta* 1888-91<sup>o</sup>\* (Bibliotheca Indica. This edition breaks off in the 15th *muqaddimah* of *Qism* v).

Epitome: *Biography of Feeroz Shah, Emperor of Dehli, translated from the Persian of Shums-i-Seraj, Ufeef, by Lieut. Henry Lewis* [who used a MS. belonging to Nawwāb Diyā' al-Dīn, of Lōhārū, and whose epitome ends in the 9th *muqaddimah* of *Qism* v, p. 439 in the Calcutta edition] (in the *Journal of the Archæological Society of Dehli* [vol. i] 1849-50\* pp. 1-38).

Translation of extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 271-373 (the translator was J. Dowson).

Description: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii pp. 269-71.

[*Tārīkh i Fīrōz-Shāhī* pp. 36<sup>11-12</sup> (= Elliot and Dowson iii p. 271), 37<sup>7-9</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 272), 39<sup>11-17</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 273), 42<sup>11-13</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 274), 51<sup>5-6</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 279), 105<sup>13-15</sup>, 127<sup>16</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 300), 130 penult.-131<sup>2</sup> (= E. & D.



iii p. 302), 131<sup>14-16</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 302), 145<sup>9-10</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 306), 148 ult.-149<sup>1</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 307), 163<sup>14</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 312), 172<sup>15</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 315), 185<sup>6</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 317), 186<sup>12</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 318), 196<sup>11-12</sup>, 197<sup>11-13</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 321), 281<sup>9-11</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 343), 285<sup>12-13</sup>, 310<sup>14-16</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 351), 321 ult.-322<sup>2</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 353, n. 1), 378 antepenult. (= E. & D. iii p. 364), 381<sup>9-10</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 365), 428<sup>4</sup> (= E. & D. iii p. 371); Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iii p. 269; Rieu i p. 242.]

670. **Yahyā b. Aḥmad** b. ‘Abd Allāh **Sīhrindī**<sup>1</sup> dedicated his *Tārīkh i Mubārak-Shāhī* to Mu‘izz al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Faṭḥ Mubārak Shāh (of the Saiyid dynasty), who reigned from 824/1421 to 837/1433.

*Tārīkh i Mubārak-Shāhī*, a history of the Sultāns of Delhi from Mu‘izz al-Dīn M. b. Sām to Sha‘bān 831/1428 with a later continuation ending abruptly in Rabī‘ ii 838/1434, the first year of M. Shāh b. Farīd Shāh (who reigned A.H. 837/1433-847/1443): **Bodleian** 175 (A.H. 957/1550), **Rieu** iii 1010a (19th cent.).

Edition: *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī of Yahyā . . . as-Sīhrindī . . . edited by . . . M. Hidayat Hosain . . .*, **Calcutta** 1931\* (Bibliotheca Indica).

English translation: *The Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī by Yāhiyā [sic] bin Aḥmad . . . Sirhindi translated . . . by K. K. Basu . . .*, **Baroda** 1932\* (Gaekwad’s Oriental Series).

Description and 81 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv pp. 6-88 (the translator was J. Dowson).

671. **Shaikh Rizq Allāh “Mushtāqī”** b. Sa‘d Allāh Dihlawī, a paternal uncle of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī (for whom see pp. 194-5 *supra*), was born in 897/1491-2, wandered about as a *faqīr* meeting innumerable *shaikhs* and died on 20 Rabī‘ i A.H. 989/1581.

<sup>1</sup> So spelt in the B.M. MS. (Sīrindī in the Bodleian MS., according to Ethé) with *yā’* after the *sīn*.



He wrote poetry both in Hindi and Persian. As a Hindi poet he used the pen-name "Rājan".

*Wāqī'āt i Mushtāqī*, a disorderly collection of narratives and anecdotes relating to the times of the Lōdīs, of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar, of the Sūrs, of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khaljī (of Mālwah), of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khaljī and of Muẓaffar Shāh of Gujrāt: Rieu ii 820b (lacking circ. 12 foll. at end. 17th cent.), iii 921b (defective. Circ. A.D. 1850).

English translation: B.M. MS. Add. 20,773, foll. 128-87.

Description and 20 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv pp. 534-57.

[*Dhikr al-mulūk*; Nūr al-Ḥaqq *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*; *Tārīkh i Khān-i-Jahānī* (Rieu i p. 210) fol. 4a; *Makhzan i Afghānī* (Dorn *History of the Afghans* p. 3); *Kalimāt al-ṣādiqīn* no. 111 (see Bānkīpūr viii p. 44); *Akhbār al-akhyār* p. 174; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī *Tadhkirah i muṣannifīn i Dihlī* p. 20 (translated in Elliot and Dowson vi p. 489); *Tabaqāt i Shāh-Jahānī*; *Riyāḍ al-auliya'*; *Sawāṭī' al-anwār* (Ethé col. 331 ult.); Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv 534-7; Rieu ii 821a; Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary*, 2nd ed. p. 333; Raḥmān 'Alī 63.]

672. 'Abbās Khān b. Shaikh 'Alī Sarwānī was descended from a certain 'Abbās Khān, whose son, Ḥasnū Khān, married a sister of Shēr Shāh's. He himself received a command of 500 horse from Akbar, but, having soon lost it through the intrigues of his enemies, he resolved to "return to the country of his fathers". The Khān i Khānān, however, "procured for him a clear 200 rupees a month, which he appears to have lost soon afterwards" (Elliot and Dowson iv pp. 301-2).

*Tuhfah i Akbar-Shāhī*, better known by the description *Tārīkh i Shēr-Shāhī*, written by order of Akbar probably soon after 987/1579, a valuable though prolix and tedious biography of Shēr Shāh and his descendants extant apparently in three



recensions <sup>1</sup> (1) beginning *Ḥamd i ān Qādir i bī-chūn* and containing only the life of *Shēr Shāh*, (2) beginning *Har jins i ḥamd* and divided into three *bābs* ((a) *Shēr Khān*, (b) *Islām Khān*, (c) relatives of *Shēr Khān* who claimed sovereignty after *Islām Khān*), (3) beginning *Ba'd az ḥamd i Īzādī*, an edition revised and enlarged by *Ibrāhīm Batanī*, who brought the history down to A.H. 1021/1612: **Ethé** 219 (shorter recension, divided into three *bābs* and beginning [*Har?*] *Jins i ḥamd wāthanīyah* (!) *Khāliq i barīyah rā sazaḍ*. A.H. 1030/1621), **Browne** Suppt. 240 (A.H. 1097/1686), **Bodleian** 176 (ending, "as usual," with *Shēr Shāh*'s death. A.H. 1191/1777), 177 (beginning *Ba'd az ḥamd i Īzādī*. Revised and enlarged by *Ibrāhīm Batanī*,<sup>2</sup> who brought the history down to A.H. 1021/1612. Ends with a third *daftar*<sup>3</sup> on *shaikhs* and *ṣūfīs*), 178 (same recension. A.H. 1227/1812), **Rieu** i 242b (ending with *Shēr Shāh*'s death. 18th cent.), ii 827b (shorter recension, beginning *Har jins i ḥamd*. A.H. 1215/1801), iii 921a (ending with *Shēr Shāh*'s death. A.H. 1239/1824), 921a (extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850), 921a (shorter recension, beginning *Har jins i ḥamd*. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Description and 129 pp. of translated extracts (virtually an abridged translation of the whole work): **Elliot and Dowson** *History of India* iv pp. 301–433 (the translator was E. C. Bayley).

Urdu translation completed in 1220/1805 by *Mazhar 'Alī Khān* "Wilā" (for whom see **Garcin de Tassy** iii pp. 297–302, **Saksena** p. 19): *Tārīkh i Shēr-Shāhī*, **Ethé** 220 = **Blumhardt** 41.

French translation from the Urdu: *Un chapitre de l'histoire de l'Inde musulmane, ou Chronique de Scher Schah, Sultan de Dehli. Traduite . . . par M. [J. H.] Garcin de Tassy*, **Paris** 1865° (offprint from the *Revue de l'Orient*, année 1864).

<sup>1</sup> According to **Elliot and Dowson** iv p. 302 "Copies of the work vary very much, and, in some, long passages are omitted". In some copies (apparently those beginning *Har jins i ḥamd*) the initial doxology is followed by the rubric *Ṭabaqah i sīwum dar dhikr i aḥwāl i saltanat i Shēr Shāh Sūr*, which would suggest that the work is only part of a larger work.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. **Rieu** i p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> No *daftar*s or other divisions are marked in the history which precedes.



[Autobiographical statements in the *Tuhfah i Akbar-Shāhī* (for which see Elliot and Dowson iv pp. 301-2, Rieu i 242-3).]

673. The *Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī* was written in the time of Jahāngīr, who is mentioned (see Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv p. 462) as the reigning sovereign, by an author whose name does not occur in the preface, but who incidentally [on fol. 17b in the B.M. MS. Or. 1701 (Rieu 922a)] calls himself 'Abd Allāh.

*Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī*, a desultory and almost dateless history of the Lōdī and Sūr dynasties (Buhlūl, Sikandar, Ibrāhīm, Shēr Shāh, Islām Shāh, M. 'Ādil, Dā'ūd Shāh) : I.O. D.P. 611 (not later than 1079/1669), Rieu i 243a (A.H. 1192/1778), iii 922a (19th cent.), Bānkipūr vii 548 (19th cent.), Blochet i 558 (A.D. 1870), Lahore Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (August 1926), p. 45).

Description and 78 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv 434-513 (the translator was C. F. Mackenzie).

674. **Aḥmad Yādgār**, who describes himself<sup>1</sup> as an old servant of the Sūr kings and who mentions<sup>2</sup> that his father was *Wazīr* to Mīrzā 'Askarī (Bābur's third son) in the Gujrāt campaign (i.e. in 942-3/1536-7), wrote his *Tārīkh i salātīn i Afāghīnah* at the suggestion of Abū 'l-Muzaffar Dā'ūd Shāh [i.e. presumably Dā'ūd Shāh b. Sulaimān, the last of the Afghān kings of Bengal, who reigned from 980/1572 to 984/1576]. It was not, however, until much later that the *Tārīkh i salātīn i Afāghīnah* was completed in its present form, since the *Ma'dīn al-akhbār i Aḥmadī*, which was written circ. 1023/1614-15 (see p. 124 *supra*), is several times mentioned as one of the sources. A still later date (A.H. 1095/1684) seems to be indicated by another passage ("p. 89b of MS.", where, according to Beveridge, a village in the

<sup>1</sup> In his preface.

<sup>2</sup> "At p. 99 of the MS." (i.e. the A.S.B. MS.) according to Beveridge, who in the article cited below quotes the passage (*Īn da'if az pidar i khwud kih dar-ān waqt wazīr i Mīrzā 'Askarī būd shanīdah būdam*).



*parganah* of Kait'hal is said to have remained a desert for 160 years since a punitive expedition against the Mundahars in 935), but this, if the text is not corrupt, must certainly have been added by a later writer than Aḥmad Yādgār.

*Tārīkh i salāṭīn i Afāghinah*, a history of the Lōdī and Sūr dynasties ending with the death of Hēmū and agreeing largely with the *Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī* and in the reign of Humāyūn verbatim with the *Tabaqāt i Akbarī*: **Būhār** 62 (19th cent.), **Ivanow** 114 (late 19th cent.), **Rieu** iii 922 (extract only, Humāyūn's reign to A.H. 949. Transcribed circ. A.D. 1850 from Ivanow 114).

Extracts translated by Ensign C. F. Mackenzie: **B.M.** MS. Add. 30774 foll. 1-24.

Description and 64 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v pp. 1-66 (the translator of nearly all the passages was C. F. Mackenzie).

Note on the circumstances and date of composition: *Note on the Ta'rīkh Salāṭīn Afāghinah. By H. Beveridge . . .* (in the *JASB*, N.S., vol. xii, 1916, No. 5, pp. 287-9).

675. **M. Kabīr b. Shaikh Ismā'il Ḥaziyā** (?) was the son of a daughter of **Shaikh Khalīl Allāh Ḥaqqānī**, an Afghān saint of Rājgīr (Rājagriha in the Patna District) who died in the Panjāb in Akbar's time.

*Afsānah i shāhān*, 140 narratives and anecdotes concerning the Afghān (Lōdī and Sūr) Sultāns of Delhi: **Rieu** i 243b (18th cent.).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (c) THE TĪMŪRIDS (1) GENERAL

676. For the (*Tārīkh i khānadān i Tīmūrīyah*), a history of Tīmūr (foll. 7-134), his successors to Sultān Ḥusain Mīrzā (foll. 136-234), Bābur (foll. 238-73), Humāyūn (foll. 273-95) and Akbar to the 22nd year of his reign, see pp. 298-9 *supra*.



677. In the reign of Shāh-Jahān (A.H. 1037/1628–1068/1658) was written

*A short (78 foll.) history of Bābur, Akbar and Shāh-Jahān*, preceded by an account of Timūr (beg. *Maḥāmid i jamīlah*) : **Bānkīpūr** vii 571 (ends abruptly in Shāh Jahān's eighth regnal year. 17th cent.).

678. M. **Bakhtāwar Khān** has already been mentioned (p. 132 *supra*) as the ostensible author of the *Mir'āt al-'ālam* composed in 1078/1667.

*Tārīkh i Hindī*,<sup>1</sup> a history of India from Bābur to Aurangzēb : **Princeton** 468.

679. For the *Jawāhir al-tawārīkh* of Salmān Qazwīnī, a history of the Mughuls from Adam to A.H. 1037/1627 written in the reign of Aurangzēb (A.H. 1068/1658–1118/1707), see p. 298 *supra*.

680. Saiyid **Mufaddal Khān** has already been mentioned (p. 135 *supra*) as the author of a general history entitled *Tārīkh i Mufaddalī*.

(*Timūr-nāmah i Mufaddalī*), a short history of the Timūrids to the reign of Farrukh-siyar (A.H. 1124/1713–1131/1719) : **Rieu** iii 923b (ends abruptly in F.'s reign. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1054b (extracts only).

681. M. Hādī entitled **Kāmwar Khān** has already been mentioned (pp. 459–60 *supra*) as the author of the *Haft gulshan i Muḥammad-Shāhī* completed in, or soon after, 1132/1719–20

*Tadhkirat al-salātīn i Chaghatā*, a history of the house of Timūr, especially its Indian branch, written after the *Haft gulshan* (see p. 459)<sup>2</sup> and divided into two volumes ((1) from the

<sup>1</sup> According to Martinovitch this work "is not to be confused with *Marāt al-'Alām* [sic] 'The Mirror of the World', a general history by the same author".

<sup>2</sup> According to the preface of the later edition of the *Haft gulshan* (Ethé 394) the *Tadhkirat al-salātīn i Chaghatā* was begun in 1135/1722–3.



origin of the Turks to the death of Jahāngīr, (2) from Shāh-Jahān's accession to the sixth or (in one or two MSS.) the seventh year of Muḥammad Shāh, A.H. 1137-8/1724-5)<sup>1</sup>: **Rieu** iii 924 (vol. i only. Autograph, A.H. 1135/1723), i 274*b* (vol. i, lacking Jahāngīr's reign. 18th cent.), 275*a* (vol. i. 18th cent.), 275*a* (extracts from vol. i. 19th cent.), iii 1022*a* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Glasgow** (see *J.R.A.S.* 1906, p. 596, no. 5) (A.H. 1140/1727), **Bānkipūr** vii 591 (vols. i-ii, ending with 6th year of Md. Shāh. Vol. i dated A.H. 1154/1741), **Ethé** 395 (large portion of vol. ii, extending from A.H. 1039/1630 to 1132/1719-20, but with lacunæ. Not later than A.H. 1197/1783), **I.O.** D.P. 591 (vol. i. A.H. 1255/1839), **I.O.** 3918 (vol. ii, extending to end of Jumādā i A.H. 1136/1724, the second month of M. Shāh's sixth regnal year. A.D. 1883), 4010 (extract from vol. ii, viz. Bahādur Shāh's reign to 1 Sha'bān 1123/14 Sept. 1711 in the fifth and penultimate year. Probably A.D. 1897 or 1898), 4074 (vol. ii, extending to beginning of M. Shāh's seventh year, but damaged and lacking the whole of Aurangzēb's reign and most of Bahādur Shāh's. 18th cent.), **Blochet** i 605-6 (complete apparently. 18th cent.), 607 (end of vol. i and beginning of vol. ii, from Akbar to 29th year of Aurangzēb. Late 18th cent.), 608 (vol. ii, lacking end of Aurangzēb's reign and nearly all of Md. Shāh's. 18th cent.), 609 (part of vol. ii, from Bahādur Shāh to beginning of Farrukh-siyar's reign. Late 18th cent.), 610 (part of vol. ii, from death of Aurangzēb to 6th year of Md. Shāh. 18th cent.), 611 (part of vol. ii, from death of Aurangzēb to 5th year of Md. Shāh. 18th cent.), **Majlis** 244 (vol. i. A.H. 1234 1818-19), **Būhār** 77 (vol. i. 19th cent.), 78 (vol. ii, to 6th year of Md. Shāh. A.D. 1870), **R.A.S.** P. 100 = Morley 96 (vol. i), P. 101 = Morley 97 (vol. ii, to 7th year of Md. Shāh), **Ivanow** 168 (vols. i-ii).

Descriptions: (1) W. Nassau Lees *Materials for the history of India* (*J.R.A.S.* 1868) pp. 469-70. (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 17-20 (with an extract of 1 p.).

<sup>1</sup> "In the later years of the work it is little more than a record of appointments and promotions, with the concomitant presents and offerings" (Elliot and Dowson viii p. 18).



682. For Hājji Mīr **M. Salīm**'s *Silsilat al-salātīn* [?], of which the first part is a history of the Mughul race from Adam onwards, Chingiz Khān, Tīmūr etc., and especially of the Indian Tīmūrids to Muḥammad Shāh (reigned A.H. 1131/1719–1161/1748) see p. 381 *supra*.

683. Nizām al-Dīn M. Hādī b. M. Mahdī al-Husainī al-Ṣafawī, known as Shāh Mīrzā and **Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Ṣafawī**<sup>1</sup>, composed the *Ḍiyā' al-'uyūn* (see p. 54 *supra*) in 1114/1702–3 at Haidarābād and the *Qadāyā i salātīn i Dakan* (Ethé 446) in 1156/1743.

*Majmū'ah i Mīrzā-Mahdī-Khānī* (a chronogram = 1142/1729–30), a brief sketch of the history of the Indian Tīmūrids : **Ivanow** 167 (late 18th cent.), **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 102 no. 1257 (A.H. 1235/1819–20), i p. 252 nos. 445 (A.H. 1247/1831–2), 641 (possibly also p. 244 no. 655 (*Shāhān i Hind* by Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Iṣfahānī)), **Bombay Univ.** 157 (A.H. 1263/1847), **Ethé** 412, 413, 414, 470 foll. 177b–189b.

684. **Dalpat Rāy** entitled (*mukhātāb*) Rāō Dalpat Sing'h was born at Aḥmadābād, where his father, Gulāb Rāy, was *Mutaṣaddī*. He made himself well acquainted with Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Bhāk'hā (i.e. Hindī). For eight years he was in the service of Mahārājah Jagat Sing'h of Udaipūr (reigned 1147/1734–1165/1751), for whom he prepared a Hindī translation of the *Dīwān* of Hāfiz. The invasion of Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1173 (or rather 1174/1760) compelled him to leave Delhi, where he was staying, for Jaipūr. Here at the age of 57 years he undertook by order of Mahārājah Mād'hau Sing'h (d. 1181/1767–8) his

*Malāḥat i maqāl*, completed after the Mahārājah's death, a collection of historical anecdotes, the first part relating to the Tīmūrids and their *amīrs* in chronological order with some account of Jagat Sing'h and Mād'hau Sing'h, the second part miscellaneous under subject headings : **Ivanow** Curzon 119 (A.H. 1235/1819–20), **Rieu** iii 1005b (circ. A.D. 1850).

<sup>1</sup> Ethé's identification of this person with the author of the *Tārīkh i Nādir* (for which see p. 322 *supra*) is of course incorrect.



685. S. **Sultān 'Alī Husainī Mūsawī Ṣafawī Ardabīlī** travelled eastward from Ardabīl, his native place, and settled at Lucknow in the time of **Shujā' al-Daulah**. In the second year of the reign of Sa'adat-'Alī, A.H. 1213/1798, he decided to write a history of India from the time of **Tīmūr** to the death of **Muḥammad Shāh**.

*Ma'din al-sa'adat*, a detailed history of the Indian **Tīmūrīds** and the **Nawwābs** of Oudh dedicated to Sa'adat 'Alī **Khān** and extending to his seventh year, A.H. 1218/1803-4: **Ivanow** 181 (lacking most of the *Khātimah* (description of India)), **Rieu** iii 1052a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

English translation of the preface and table of contents: **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,781 foll. 30-56.

Description: **Elliot and Dowson** *History of India* viii p. 354.

[*Ma'din al-sa'adat*, preface (see **Elliot and Dowson** *loc. cit.*.)]

686. **Ṣūfi Ṣan'ān** b. **Mirzā Bābā** wrote the

*Tārīkh al-salātīn*, a short (34 foll.) and negligible chronicle of **Tīmūr's** successors and the Indian **Mughuls** to **Shāh-'Ālam**: **Ethé** 428 (A.H. 1220/1806. Autograph?).

687. Maulawī **Khair al-Dīn Muḥammad Pāhābādī** was born at Allahabad on 12 Ṣafar 1165/31 Dec. 1751. Educated at Allahabad and Jaunpūr, he became a teacher in a *madrasah* of his own (*madrasah i khwud*) at Allahabad, but when the province of Allahabad was transferred by the E.I.Co. to Nawwāb **Shujā' al-Daulah** [after the Treaty of Benares in 1773<sup>1</sup>], the Nawwāb confiscated the stipends of the teachers of Allahabad, and **Khair al-Dīn M.** sought employment with officials of the E.I.Co. He was attached to the staff of Captain **W. Bruce** in the operations which led to the capture of Gwalior in 1780. Subsequently he assisted **James Anderson**, British Resident in **Sīnd'hiyah's** camp, in his negotiations with the **Marāṭhās**, but

<sup>1</sup> The printed text of the *Tadhkirat al-'ulamā'* (p. 69<sup>2</sup>) gives the date 1176, probably an error or misprint for 1186, though the correct date is 1187.



left his service in 1200/1785 on account of illness and returned to Allahabad. After a short period in the service of the Shāh-zādah Jahāndār Shāh, he went from his birthplace to Lucknow in 1202/1788 (Rieu iii 946a) or 1206/1791-2 (Rieu iii 1028b) at the request of Āṣaf al-Daulah. Then for some years he taught at Allahabad and Benares. In 1209/1794-5 the practice of appointing British judges and registrars was introduced, and he served under two successive judges at Jaunpūr, the second being A. Welland. It was at Jaunpūr that he spent the years of his retirement. He died about 1827.

At the end of his *Tadhkirat al-‘ulamā’*, on the scholars of Jaunpūr, written in 1216/1801 (Edition: Calcutta 1934), he mentions numerous works of his own. These include (1) *Ibrat-nāmah*, on the reign of Shāh-‘Ālam (see p. 641 *infra*), (2) *Jaunpūr-nāmah* (see p. 698 *infra*), (3) *Tuhfah i tāzah*, on the history of Benares (see p. 702 *infra*), (4) *Guwāliyār-nāmah* (see p. 736 *infra*), (5) *Ālam-āshūb*, a history of India from Nādir Shāh’s invasion to the death of Najaf Khān (this work he describes as unfinished), (6) *Gulzār i asrār*, anecdotes of Indian saints, (7) *Sarābistān*, anecdotes of Indian kings, (8) *Khair al-majālis*, an abridgment of Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī’s *Majālis al-mu’minīn*, (9) *Burhān i imāmat*, written by order of Āṣaf al-Daulah, (10) *Khawāriq i Qādirīyah*, written at the request of Shāh-‘Ālam, as well as works on such subjects as dogmatic theology, law, logic, philosophy, rhetoric and grammar. A work entitled *Tawallā-yi ‘Azīz*, in which he seeks to show that the author of the *Tuhfah i Ithnā-‘Ashariyah* [i.e. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Dihlawī, for whom see pp. 24-5 *supra*] was secretly a Shī‘ite, is preserved in the India Office (D.P. 273 (a)). For his account of a short period in the history of Oudh (Rieu iii 948a) see p. 704 *infra*.

*Sketch of Tīmūrid history* from Bābur to Shāh-‘Ālam with a chronological abstract of the latter’s reign to his death in 1221/1806 : Rieu iii 948a (circ. A.D. 1850).

[Autobiography in the *Tadhkirat al-‘ulamā’*, *khātimah* (Calcutta edition pp. 67-75, trans. pp. 74-82); autobiographical statements in the *Jaunpūr-nāmah* (see Rieu i 311a), the *Tuhfah i tāzah* (see Rieu iii pp. 964b, 965a), the *Ibrat-nāmah* (see Rieu iii



946) and the *Guwāliyār-nāmah* (see Rieu iii 1028b); Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii p. 237; Rieu iii 946, 964, 1028b, i 311; Bānkīpūr vii pp. 97, 140; Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 235.]

688. **M. 'Alī Khān Anṣārī** has already been mentioned (p. 144 *supra*) as the author of the general history *Bahr al-mawwāj* completed according to the preface in 1209/1794-5 but in fact extending to 1211/1796. The part of that history relating to the Indian Tīmūrīds is for all practical purposes a reproduction of the *Tārīkh i Muẓaffarī*, which was composed originally in 1202/1787-8 for the purpose of obtaining the patronage of Mu'īn al-Daulah Mubārīz al-Mulk Khān i Khānān S. M. Ridā Khān Bahādur Muẓaffar-Jang (Nā'ib-Nāẓim of Bengal and Bihār), then resident at Murshidābād, where he died in Ṣafar 1206/1791.

*Tārīkh i Muẓaffarī*, a history of the Indian Tīmūrīds to A.H. 1202/1787-8, subsequently continued to A.H. 1225/1810, valuable for M. Shāh's reign and later times: **Lindesiana** p. 191 no. 870 (A.H. 1205 1790-1212 1797), **Berlin** 479 (lacks continuation. Bears seal dated 1206), **Ivanow** Curzon 39 (breaks off in A.H. 1222 1807. A.H. 1247 (?)/1831-2), **Ivanow** 182 (ends with A.H. 1209 1795. A.H. 1293 1876), 183 (ends with A.H. 1225/1810. A.H. 1295 1878), **Rieu** i 282b (ends with A.H. 1225 1810. Early 19th cent.), iii 925a (ends with A.H. 1212 1797. A.D. 1849), 925a (Shāh-'Ālam's reign to A.H. 1201 1786-7. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1027a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1030b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1844), **I.O.** 4550 (ends with A.H. 1212 1797. A.H. 1266 1849), 3906 (ends with A.H. 1212 1797. A.D. 1878), 3954 (reigns of Bahādur Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh only. A.D. 1892), 3883 (reigns of Aḥmad Shāh and 'Ālaṃgīr II probably from the *Bahr al-mawwāj*).<sup>1</sup> 18th cent.), 3994 (reigns of Farrukh-siyar, Rafī' al-Darajāt etc., and M. Shāh probably from the *Bahr al-mawwāj*).<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1891), **Bānkīpūr** vii 593 (breaks off in middle of

<sup>1</sup> These MSS., if they had been identified sooner, would have appeared on p. 144 *supra*, but this place is almost equally appropriate, since the part of the *Bahr al-mawwāj* dealing with the Indian Tīmūrīds is practically identical with the *Tārīkh i Muẓaffarī*.



M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (c) THE TIMURIDS (1) GENERAL 523

Shāh-‘Ālam’s reign, the last date being 1202/1788. 19th cent.), possibly also vii 545 (Shāh-‘Ālam’s reign to A.H. 1200/1785. 19th cent.), ‘Allgarh Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 58 no. 954 (8), Aṣafiyah i p. 230 nos. 450 and 722.

Extracts translated by Dīn Muḥammad : B.M. MS. Add. 30782 foll. 206–32.

Extracts translated by J. Dowson : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 317–30.

689. Mahārājah Kalyān Sing’h b. Shitāb Rāy (see p. 719 *infra*).

Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh, a history in two *bābs* of which the first deals with the Indian Tīmūrids to A.H. 1227/1812 and the second, which has in some MSS. the independent title *Wāridāt i Qāsimī* and is the longer and by far the more important, with the Nāẓims of Bengal. For further information see p. 721 below.

690. Aḥmad ‘Alī b. Yūsuf ‘Alī Faīdābādī.

(Mukhtaṣar dar aḥwāl i Tīmūrīyah), an untitled sketch of Indian history under the Tīmūrids to the year 1228/1813 (more than half of the work being devoted to Shāh-‘Ālam II) written in 1245/1829–30 at the request of Mahā-rājah Kīrat Chand : I.O. 4429 (circ. A.D. 1850).

691. M. Ridā “ Najm ” Ṭabāṭabā<sup>1</sup> has already been mentioned (pp. 148, 488 *supra*) as the author of the *Zubdat al-gharā’ib*, the *Majma’ al-mulūk* and the *Akḥbārāt i Hind*.

Mafātīḥ al-rī’āsat, a history of India from 1151/1738–9 to 1251/1835–6 forming vol. iv of the author’s historical encyclopædia *Baḥr al-zakḥkhār* (cf. Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 433) : Rieu iii 1014b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1018b vi foll. 126–252 (extracts. A.D. 1849), cf. 1053a (papers relating to vol. iv).

<sup>1</sup> Ṭabāṭabā, not Ṭabāṭabā’i, seems to be the form used by M. Ridā himself in his prefaces etc.



692. Rājah **Apūrva Krishna** “Kunwar”, or Apūrva Krishna Dēva, born in 1815 (see *Proceedings of the A.S.B.*, 1925 p. xxxi), was the son of Rājah Rāj Krishna (d. A.D. 1823, aged 42<sup>1</sup>) and the grandson of Rājah Nava Krishna, the “Nob Kissen” who rendered important services to the British in Clive’s time and whose name is repeatedly mentioned in the histories of that period.<sup>2</sup> He was thus a brother of Mahārājah Sir Narendra Krishna, K.C.I.E., and of Rājah Kālī Krishna. On the title-page of the *Shāh-nāmah i Hind* (Calcutta 1848) he is described as “Honorary Poet to His Majesty the King of Delhi, and Member of the Hamburg Academy, &c., &c., &c.” According to Loke Nath Ghose he died in 1867. He seems to have lived a simple and uneventful life at Sovabazar, Calcutta. For his *dīwān* see Sprenger p. 474.

*Shāh-nāmah i Hind* (on the English title-page *The History of the Conquerors of Hind from the most early period to the present time: containing an account of the religion, government, usages and character of the inhabitants of that kingdom*), a poem of which the two chapters published in 1848 extend to the time of Bābur but are concerned mainly with Tīmūr and Shāh-Rukh: **Lindesiana** p. 114 no. 774 (vol. (chapter?) iv (reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn). A.H. 1257/1841).

Editions: **Calcutta** 1848\* (chapters i and ii (only?), extending to the time of Bābur but dealing mainly with Tīmūr and Shāh-Rukh. The B.M. has chapter i), **Lahore** [1899°\*, chapters i and ii only].

[Ṭaiyib Allāh *Lives of Maha Raja Apurva Krishna Bahadur . . . his father and grandfather (Mathnawī i Ṭaiyib Allāh)*, Calcutta 1847°; Sprenger p. 474; Garcin de Tassy i pp. 217–18; Loke Nath Ghose *The modern history of the Indian chiefs, rajas, zamindars, etc.*, pt. ii, Calcutta 1881, p. 121.]

<sup>1</sup> See *Genealogical and other accounts of Maha-Raja Kali-Krishna Bahadur*, Calcutta 1841\*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed biography of “Nob Kissen” see N. N. Ghose’s *Memoirs of Maharaja Nubkissen Bahadur*, Calcutta 1901\*. Cf. Buckland’s *Dictionary of Indian biography* under Naba Kishen.



693. For the *Tārīkh i Farah-bakhsh* of M. Faīd-Bakhsh Kākōrī which begins with a history of the Tīmūrids see p. 706 below.

694. Mirzā Asad Allāh Khān "**Ghālib**" b. 'Abd Allāh Bēg Khān was born at Āgrah on 8 Rajab 1212/27 Dec. 1797. His grandfather was a Turk of Samarqand who had migrated to India in Shāh-'Ālam's reign and had been given a *manṣab* by Najaf Khān. "**Ghālib**" was only five years old when his father, at that time a military officer in the service of Rājah Bakhtāwar Sing'h of Alwar, was killed in battle. He and his younger brother were adopted by their uncle, Naṣr Allāh Bēg Khān, a commander of 400 horse in Lord Lake's army, but, when "**Ghālib**" was nine years old, his uncle died, and his *jāgīr*, consisting of two *parganahs* in the neighbourhood of Āgrah, reverted to the government. In compensation "**Ghālib**" was granted a small government pension, which for the greater part of his life seems to have been almost his only regular income.

In 1266/1850 Bahādur Shāh conferred upon him the titles of Najm al-Daulah Dabīr al-Mulk Nizām-Jang and appointed him to write a history of the Tīmūrids at a salary of Rs. 50 a month. The *Mihr i nīm-rūz* published in 1852 represents the first half of this task, but "**Ghālib**", who was evidently in no hurry to complete the undertaking, had not written the second half when the Mutiny of 1857 led to the deposition of Bahādur Shāh. Wājid 'Alī Shāh, King of Oudh (A.H. 1263/1847–1272/1856), granted "**Ghālib**" a stipend of Rs. 500 a year, but only two years afterwards, in 1856, Oudh was annexed by the E.I.Co. and that stipend ceased. Two years after the Mutiny Nawwāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān of Rāmpūr assigned to him a pension of Rs. 100 a month, and this was continued by Nawwāb Kalb-'Alī Khān to the end of "**Ghālib's**" life. He died at Delhi on 2 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1285/14 Feb. 1869<sup>1</sup> at the age of 73.

It is chiefly as an Urdu poet—one of the greatest, if not actually the greatest—that "**Ghālib**" is still remembered. His

<sup>1</sup> 15 Feb. 1869 according to the *Yādgar i Ghālib*, p. 108, but, as 15 Feb. was 3 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah, either the Muḥammadan or the Christian date must be incorrect.



*Kullīyāt i nathr i Ghālib*, [Lucknow,] 1871<sup>o</sup>\*, pp. 377–416, Cawnpore 1884†, 1888\*.

*Mihr i nīm-rūz*, a short history of the Tīmūrid line from the Creation to the reign of Humāyūn undertaken by the author on receiving the titles of Najm al-Daulah, Dabīr al-Mulk and Nizām-Jang from Bahādur Shāh on 23 Sha‘bān 1266/4 June 1850 and intended to form the first half of a work entitled *Partawistān* and to be followed by a second half entitled *Māh i nīm-māh* dealing with the period from Akbar to Bahādur Shāh<sup>1</sup> : I.O. D.P. 583 (A.H. 1270/1854).

Editions : Fakhr al-matābi‘ [Delhi?] 1268/1852\*, 1271/1854–5,<sup>2</sup> and in the *Kullīyāt i nathr i Ghālib*, Nawal Kishōr, [Lucknow,] 1871<sup>o</sup>\*, pp. 255–376, Cawnpore 1884†, 1888\*.

[Autobiographical statements in *Dastanbūy*, esp. pp. 392–5, *Mihr i nīm-rūz*, preface, and various passages in his poems ; *Gulshan i bī-khār* (cf. Sprenger p. 228) ; *Riyād al-afkār* (Bānkīpūr Suppt. i p. 57) ; Sprenger pp. 204, 228, 410 ; *Haft āsmān* pp. 166–7 ; Garcin de Tassy i pp. 475–82 (where will be found an abridged French translation of the obituary notice in the *Awad’h akhbār* of 16.3.1869) ; M. Husain “Āzād” *Āb i hayāt* (in Urdu. Originally published circ. 1880), Lahore 1899, pp. 466–99 ; Bānkīpūr iii pp. 269–70 ; *Ency. Isl.* under Ghālib (Blumhardt) ; Altāf Husain “Hālī” *Yādgār i Ghālib* (in Urdu), Lucknow 1924 ; Saksēna *A history of Urdu literature* pp. 158–68, 263–5 ; T. Grahame Bailey *A history of Urdu literature* pp. 71–2, 84 ; an Urdu biography, *Ghālib*, by Ghulām-Rasūl “Mihr” (Lahore, date not stated) was reviewed at some length by S. M. ‘Abd Allāh in the *Oriental College Magazine* Vol. xiii no. 1 (Nov. 1936) pp. 71–84 ; Portraits facing p. 376 and *Hiṣṣah i nathr* p. 28 in the Urdu translation of Saksēna’s work (*Tārīkh i adab i Urdū*, Lucknow 1929).]

695. By desire of Bahādur Shāh, the last Emperor of Delhi

<sup>1</sup> The second half was never written (see *Yādgār i Ghālib* p. 35).

<sup>2</sup> The chronogrammatic colophon of an edition lithographed at the Fakhr al-matābi‘ in this year is reprinted in the [Lucknow] edition of 1871.



Urdu *dīwān* has often been published (e.g. Cawnpore 1278/1861°, Lucknow 1873\*, 1881°, Cawnpore 1887\*, Delhi 1889\*) and under the title *Muraqqa' i Chughtāy* [sic] (with illustrations by M. 'Abd al-Rahmān Chughtāy) at Lahore in [1928]. Other Urdu works well known in India are *Urdū i mu'allā*, a collection of letters, and *'Ud i Hindī*, a collection of letters and reviews.

His Persian poetical works have been published under the title *Kullīyāt i Ghālib* at Lucknow in 1872° and 1924-5† (3rd ed.). A Persian *dīwān*, doubtless for the most part identical with the *Kullīyāt*, was published at Delhi in 1261/1845 (506 pp. See Sprenger p. 410), and there is a MS. at Bānkīpūr (Catalogue, vol. iii no. 441). The *Abr i guhar-bār*, an unfinished *mathnawī* on the life of Muḥammad, was published separately at Delhi in 1280/1863° and is included in the Lucknow *Kullīyāt* (p. 111). The *Qaṣīdah i bar-guzīdah*, an ode to Queen Victoria, of which there is a manuscript in the Bibliotheca Lindesiana (Catalogue p. 202 no. 613), is also in the *Kullīyāt* (p. 241).

Of his Persian prose works in addition to the *Mihr i nīm-rūz* the following have been published : (1) *Panj āhang*, a collection of letters, prose compositions, lists of words and other material useful to a student of *inshā'*,<sup>1</sup> Delhi 1853\* and in the *Kullīyāt i nathr i Ghālib*, [Lucknow,] 1871°\*, pp. 2-254, Cawnpore 1884†, 1888\*. (2) *Qāṭi' i burhān*, criticisms of the Persian dictionary *Burhān i qāṭi'*, [Lucknow,] 1278/1862°. (3) *Dirafsh i Kāvayānī*, an enlarged edition of the preceding, Delhi 1865°. (4) *Dastanbūy*, reminiscences of the Mutiny at Delhi, Bareilly 1871\* and in the

<sup>1</sup> The *Panj āhang*, described inexactly in the India Office catalogue as "a treatise on grammar and lexicography", contains (1) *Alqāb u ādāb u marātib i muta'alliqah i ān*, i.e. complimentary formulæ for use at the beginning and end of letters, pp. 4-21, (2) (a) rules for forming tenses etc. of the verb from the principal parts, pp. 21-26, (b) a list of verbs with their principal parts, pp. 26-33, (c) a list of idiomatic phrases, pp. 33-5, (d) a short glossary of more or less uncommon words, pp. 35-9, (3) a collection of verses by "Ghālib" suitable for quotation in letters, pp. 39-47, (4) a collection of prefaces, laudatory notices of books (*taqārīz*), and other prose pieces pp. 47-96, (5) letters to friends of the author, pp. 96-254. The pagination given above is that of the *Kullīyāt i nathr i Ghālib*, in which the *Panj āhang* occupies pp. 2-254, the *Mihr i nīm-rūz* pp. 255-376 and the *Dastanbūy* pp. 377-416.



(1253/1837–1275/1857), Muḥammad **Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥusain** with the assistance of Ḥakīm M. Aḥsan Allāh **Khān** and the painters Ghulām ‘Alī **Khān** and Bābur ‘Alī **Khān** began in 1266/1849–50 and completed in the following year

*Mir’āt al-ashbāh i salāṭīn i āsmān-jāh*, chronological tables of the Indian Tīmūrids with their portraits and pictures of their tombs: **Lindesiana** p. 137 no. 775 (circ. 1850. Possibly this may be a copy of the lithograph mentioned below).

Edition: [Delhi ?] 1267/1851° (see Rieu i 285a).

696. Mīrzā M. ‘Abd al-Qādir **Khān**, commonly called (‘urf) Mīrzā M. **Āghā Jān**,<sup>1</sup> b. Munshī Mīrzā Aḥmad Jān b. Mīrzā Shāh-Muḥammad **Khān**<sup>2</sup> **Āqah Bāsh Qājār** Kābulī, was born at Sōngarḥ<sup>3</sup> (*A. i M.* pp. 53<sup>3</sup>, 815<sup>6</sup>) in the Mandsaur district of the Gwalior State. His grandfather had migrated from Kābul to Peshawar (*A. i M.* p. 5<sup>9-10</sup>), and his father at the time of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 settled in Sōngarḥ (*A. i M.* pp. 5<sup>12-14</sup>, 52 *ult.*–53<sup>1-2</sup>), where he became right-hand man<sup>4</sup> to Ṭ’hākūr Kēsri Sing’h, the Rājput ruler (*ra’īs*, *wālī*) of the tiny state of Sōngarḥ. On his father’s death in 1897 (*A. i M.* p. 816<sup>15-18</sup>) Mīrzā **Āghā Jān** succeeded to his father’s office (*A. i M.* p. 816<sup>20-21</sup>).

*Awīmāq* [*sic* <sup>5</sup>] *i Mughul*,<sup>6</sup> completed in August 1900 apart from a (second) *khātimah* added in November 1901, an account

<sup>1</sup> Not **Khān**.

<sup>2</sup> A genealogical tree of the author’s family (*Shujarah i Qājārīyah i Barlās*) is given on p. 54 of the *A. i M.*

<sup>3</sup> This Sōngarḥ is to be distinguished from better known places of the same name in Baroda and Kathiawar.

<sup>4</sup> The precise title of his office is not stated. On the title-page the author is described merely as a resident (*sākin*) of Sōngarḥ.

<sup>5</sup> This word is so vocalised on the title-page and in some chronogrammatic verses (not by the author) at the end, one line being *Wa-lam yurqam bi-hādhā ‘l-ṭarzi qat’an \* kitābun fī Awīmāqi ‘l-Maghūli* [*sic*]. For the word see *Ency. Isl.* under Aimāk (Barthold) and Redhouse’s Turkish dictionary, where the pronunciation is given as Ōymāq.

<sup>6</sup> So on the title-page, but *Mughul* where the title occurs at the end of the preface. The author uses the two spellings interchangeably.



of the Mughul tribes <sup>1</sup> (*Bāb i awwal dar bayān i aqwām i Muḡhūl*, pp. 7-100) and a history of the Mughul dynasties (*Bāb i dūyum dar tafṣīl i ijmāl i salāṭīn i Muḡhūl*, pp. 101-832), Tīmūr <sup>2</sup> and the Tīmūrids occupying pp. 271-695 (Bābur and the Indian Tīmūrids from p. 389). Edition: **Amritsar** 1319/1902°\*.

697. Miscellaneous works relating to the Tīmūrids :

(1) *Fihrist i Tīmūrīyah*, a sketch of Tīmūrīd history to A.H. 1185/1771, written in 1203/1788: **Bānkipūr** Suppt. 1771 (A.H. 1233/1817-18).

(2) *Humāyūn-nāmah*, by ?, a history of the Mughul Emperors from Humāyūn [to ?]: **Lindesiana** p. 148 no. 833 (A.H. 1170/1756-7).

(3) (*Tārīkh i Tīmūrīyān*), a sketch (foll. 13) of Tīmūrīd history to A.H. 1221/1806: **Bānkipūr** Suppt. i 1772 (19th cent.).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (c) THE TĪMŪRIDS (2) BĀBUR

698. **Zahīr al-Dīn M. Bābur** b. 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā b. Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā b. Sultān-Muḥammad Mīrzā b. Mīrān-Shāh b. Tīmūr was born on 6 Muḥarram 888/14 Feb. 1483, and succeeded his father as ruler of Fargḥānah in Ramaḍān 899/June 1494, being then in his twelfth year. In 906/1501 a defeat at the hands of Shaibānī Khān deprived him of his principedom, but in 910/1504 he occupied Kābul and made it the seat of his government. In 932/1526 he defeated Ibrāhīm Lōdī at Pānīpat, made Āgrah his capital and founded the Tīmūrīd dynasty of Hindūstān. He died on 6 Jumādā i 937/26 December 1530 in his 48th year.

In addition to his Memoirs, which alone concern us here,

<sup>1</sup> The author laments that the works dealing specially with the Mughul tribes, like the *Tārīkh i Rashīdī* (see p. 274 *supra*) and the *Muqaddimah i Zafar-nāmah* (see p. 284 *supra*), were unobtainable in India and therefore inaccessible to him.

<sup>2</sup> The author uses the spelling GWRKĀN for Tīmūr's title, not Gūrgān, as seems to be usual in India.



Bābur was the author of some poetical works in Turkī (for which see *The Babur-nāma in English* pp. 437–8 and appendices pp. lviii–lxvii, *Akbar-nāmah* i pp. 118–19, F. Teufel *Bābur und Abū'l-faẓl* (in *ZDMG.* 37 (1883)) pp. 179–84, *Divān-i-Bābur Pādishāh* edited with facsimile by E. D. Ross in *JASB.* 1910, extra number).

(*Bābur-nāmah*), or (*Wāqī'āt i Bāburī*<sup>1</sup>), or (*Tūzūk i Bāburī*), Bābur's personal memoirs in *Chaghatāy* Turkī, extant only in a mutilated form, since the existing MSS., as well as 'Abd al-Raḥīm's translation, are marred by numerous lacunæ: **Edinburgh** Scottish National Library ("may have been copied during Akbar's first decade (1556–67)"). See Mrs. Beveridge's description in *JRAS.* 1907, pp. 131–44 (cf. 1900 pp. 451–3), and her brief account in *The Bābur-nāma in English* p. xliii. Formerly belonged to Elphinstone and Erskine), **Rieu** B.M. Turkish Cat. p. 280 (detached fragments only. A.H. 1039/1630. Cf. Mrs. Beveridge in *JRAS.* 1900 pp. 453–4, 470), **Lindesiana** p. 244 no. 151 (fragment only (71 foll.) from the beginning. Written, according to Mrs. Beveridge, by Nūr M., nephew of Abū 'l-Faḍl, who was living in 1625. See *JRAS.* 1900 pp. 465–6, 470, and *The Bābur-nāma in English* p. xli). **Ḥaidarābād** Sālār-Jang Library (circ. A.D. 1700. See *JRAS.* 1902 p. 655, 1905 pp. 741–62, 1906 pp. 79–93, 1908 pp. 73–6, *The Bābur-nāma in English* pp. xlvi–xlvii).

In addition to the above MSS., which are regarded by Mrs. Beveridge as representing the genuine Turkī text of the *Bābur-nāmah*, there exist a number of others, which, according to her,<sup>2</sup> resemble the text published by Ilminski from Kehr's transcript

<sup>1</sup> This title is used, e.g., by 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* i p. 341. Bābur refers to the work as the *Wāqū'i*.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Beveridge's conclusions were set forth, and from time to time modified, in a series of articles published in the *JRAS.* (1900 pp. 439–80: *Notes on the Turkī text of Bābar's Memoirs*; 1902 pp. 653–9: *Further notes on the [Elphinstone and Haydarabad] MSS. of the Turkī text of Bābar's Memoirs*; 1905 pp. 741–62: *The Haydarabad codex of the Babar-nama . . .*; 1906 pp. 79–93: *The Haydarabad codex, etc., continued*; 1907 pp. 131–44: *Further notes on the Babar-nama MSS. The Elphinstone codex*; 1908 pp. 73–98: *The Babar-nama. The material now available for a definitive text of the book. I. The wording of the Haydarabad and Elphinstone MSS. II. General notice of the St. Petersburg*



(see p. 532 *infra*), and of which, therefore, the contents are partly genuine, partly retranslated from 'Abd al-Rahīm's Persian, and partly spurious.<sup>1</sup> The recorded MSS. of this garbled recension are as follows : **Lenin**grad Foreign Office Institute of Oriental Languages no. 360 (G. J. Kehr's transcript. A.D. 1737. See Smirnow's Turkish cat. pp. 142-4, *JRAS.* 1900 pp. 467-73, 1908 pp. 76-96, 828-31, 1923 pp. 75-77, *The Bābur-nāma in English* pp. lii-lv), Asiatic Museum No. 590<sup>bba</sup> (Senkovski's transcript. A.D. 1824. See *JRAS.* 1900 pp. 474-5, *The Bābur-nāma in English* pp. lv-lvii), University Library no. 683 (A.D. 1839 (?). See *JRAS.* 1900 pp. 466-7, *The Bābur-nāma in English* p. lvi), **Ivanow** 1730 (late 12th/18th cent. See *JRAS.* 1900 pp. 461-5, *The Bābur-nāma in English* p. lvi), **Ethé** 214 (early 19th cent., probably transcribed from Ivanow 1730. Lacunæ. Incorrectly described by Ethé as complete. See *JRAS.* 1900 pp. 455-61, *The Bābur-nāma in English* p. lvi).

Facsimile of the Turkī text : *The Babar-nama, being the autobiography of the Emperor Babar . . . written in Chaghatay Turkish ; now reproduced in facsimile from a manuscript belonging to the late Sir Salar Jang of Hyderabad, and edited with a preface and indexes by A. S. Beveridge. Leyden and London 1905\** (Gibb Memorial Series, 1).

Foreign Office codex (copied by Kehr) and of the pseudo-Bābar 'Fragment'. III. Dr. Kehr's transcript considered as text-material. IV. Summary of the results in text-material of the examination of the fifteen MSS. . . . ; 1908 pp. 828-31 : *The Bābar-nāma : Dr. Kehr's Latin version and a new letter by Bābar.* ; 1909 pp. 452-60 : *Notes on the Bābar-nāma. I. Dr. J. G. Klaproth's part translation of the book. II. On the origin and meaning of the word Tāshkand ; 1910 pp. 111-28 : The Babar-nama description of Farghāna [a revised translation] ; 1911 pp. 65-74 : The Babar-nama. A passage [concerning B.'s escape from impending death, *Mémoires* i p. 255] judged spurious in the Haydarabad MS. ; 1914 pp. 440-51 : Notes on the Babur-nama. I. Nagarahār and Nīng-nahār. II. Dara-i-nūr. III. The wines of Dara-i-nūr. IV. Of Bihbūd Beg ; and of Bābur's vassal-coinage ; 1923 pp. 75-78 : Further notes on Baburiana [viz. a description of Kehr's transcript and of Ilminski's Baber-namè]. The conclusions were summarised in the preface to *The Babur-nama in English*.*

<sup>1</sup> It has been shown by F. Teufel (*Bābur und Abū'l-faẓl*, *ZDMG.* 37 (1883) pp. 141-87) that one portion is a translation from the *Akbar-nāmah*. For the passage discussed by Mrs. Beveridge in the *JRAS.* 1911 pp. 65-74 see also H. Beveridge's article *A passage in the Turki text of the Bābarnāmah* in the *ASB.* N.S. vi no. 4 (April 1910) pp. 221-6.



English translation from the Turkī: *The Babur-nama in English (Memoirs of Babur) by Zahiru'-d-din Muhammad Babur Padshah Ghazi. Translated from the original Turki text by A. S. Beveridge. London 1921\**.

Edition of most<sup>1</sup> of the extracts preserved in Kehr's manuscript of the garbled recension: *Baber-namè ili Zapiski Sultana Babera* [these words in the Russian character]. *Baber-Nameh Djagataice ad fidem codicis Petropolitani edidit N. Ilminski. Kazan 1857\** (cf. Zenker ii p. 64 no. 814).

French translation of Ilminski's text: *Mémoires de Baber (Zahir-ed-din Mohammed) traduites . . . sur le texte djagatai par A. Pavet de Courteille. Paris 1871\**.

Persian translations of these memoirs, or parts of them, were made by the following persons:

(1) Shaikh Zain [al-Dīn] "Wafā'ī" Khawāfi, a poet who was *Ṣadr* in Bābur's reign, who wrote a *fath-nāmah* describing the Battle of Kānwah (cf. Rieu iii p. 1046b vii), which is quoted in the Memoirs, and who died in 940/1533-4 and was buried at Āgrah. [See *The Bāburnāma in English* pp. 448, 476, 532, 553 (bis), 559, 565, 575, 662, 683, *Akbar-nāmah* i p. 119, Beveridge's trans. i p. 280; 'Abd al-Qādir *Muntakhab al-tawārikh* i pp. 341, 471-2; *Tabaqāt i Shāh-Jahānī*; *Safīnah i Khwushgū* no. 68; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 2933; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv pp. 288-9.]

<sup>1</sup> For a list of the contents of Kehr's transcript and a specification of the parts published by Ilminski see *The Bābur-nāma in English* pp. lii-liii and the *JRAS.* 1923 pp. 75-8. One of the extracts (the "Hindustan Section", as Mrs. Beveridge calls it) is actually a part of Bābur's Turkī text, others appear to be retranslations from 'Abd al-Rahīm's Persian, others are spurious and one is "a continuous passage translated from the *Akbar-nama* winding up Bābur's story to his death and Court". Mrs. Beveridge argued from the colophon of Senkovski's transcript (Turkī text quoted in *JRAS.* 1900 p. 474) that the garbled recension was a compilation "planned to contain the histories of Bābur and Humāyūn" and entitled *Waqā'i'-nāmah i pādshāhī* by Mullā 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ākhund Ghujdawānī, who completed it on 31 Aug. 1709/5 Rajab 1121. It seems probable, however, that, since *Waqā'i'* is the term used by Bābur in speaking of his Memoirs, *Waqā'i'-nāmah i pādshāhī* is merely equivalent to *Wāqī'āt i Bāburī*, *Bābur-nāmah* and the other quasi-titles given to the Memoirs.



*An ornate paraphrase of the Memoirs,*<sup>1</sup> or perhaps only of a portion<sup>2</sup> relating to the Indian period of Bābur's life : **Rieu** iii 926*b* (events of A.H. 932 and the early part of 933. 102 foll. A.H. 998/1590), i 246*a* (Ṣafar 932–Muḥarram 933. 17th cent.), **Blochet** iv 2154 (from the beginning of 932 to the end of the description of Hindūstān. Early 17th cent.).<sup>3</sup>

Description and 3 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv pp. 288–92.

(2) Mirzā Pāyandah Ḥasan Ghaznawī and Muḥammad-Qulī Muḡhūl Ḥiṣārī, the former of whom began his translation in 994/1586 at the command of Bihrūz Khān (afterwards Naurang Khān, who died as Governor of Jūnāgarh A.H. 1002 : see **Rieu** ii 799*b*) and dealt with the first six years and part of the seventh, while the latter continued the work to A.H. 935 : **Browne** Suppt. 1351 (n.d., but presented to King's Coll. in 1788. King's 96), **Rieu** ii 799*b* (A.H. 1203/1789), **Ethé** 215 (n.d.), **Bodleian** 179 (modern).

(3) Mirzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān i Khānān<sup>4</sup> b. Bairam Khān Khān i Khānān, who made his translation by order of Akbar and completed it in 998/1589–90 : **Rieu** Suppt. 75 (late 16th cent. FINE PICTURES), **Rieu** i 244*a* (late 16th cent.), 244*b* (16th cent. 4 PICTURES), 245*a* (A.H. 1048/1638. 26 PICTURES), 245*a* (A.H. 1148/1735), 245*a* (18th cent.), 245*b*

<sup>1</sup> The inappropriate title *Ṭabaqāt i Bāburī*, which Dowson gives to the work, is ignored by Rieu in his description of the Elliot MS. and may be presumed to have no satisfactory authority.

<sup>2</sup> According to 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī (i p. 472<sup>5</sup>–6) *ū tārikhī nawishtaḥ mushtamil bar aḥwāl i fath i Hindūstān u sharḥ i gharā'ib i ān u dād i sukhhunwarī dar-ān dādah*. An earlier passage in the *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* (i p. 341 17–18) says that Sh. Zain Wāqī'āt i Bāburī rā kih ān pādshāh i maghfūr nawishtaḥ ba-'ibaratī balīgh tarjamah kard.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ZDMG.* 37 (1883) p. 177 n.

<sup>4</sup> This celebrated general, governor and man of letters was born at Lahore in Ṣafar 964/1556 and died at Delhi in 1036/1627. He is the subject of 'Abd al-Bāqī Nihāwandī's *Ma'āthir i Raḥīmī* (see p. 553 *infra*). For other accounts of him see *Ā'in i Akbarī* tr. Blochmann i pp. 334–9, *Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī* iii pp. 287–8 ; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i pp. 693–713, Beveridge's trans. pp. 50–65 ; *Safīnah i Khwushjū* no. 619 ; *Ency. Isl.* under 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān (A. S. Beveridge), etc.



(early 19th cent. 1 PICTURE), 245*b* (19th cent.), 245*b* (portion only. Early 19th cent.), ii 800*a* (A.H. 1203/1789), iii 926*a* (3 detached portions. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1046 (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Blochet** i 559 (16th cent.), 560 (1st half of 17th cent.), 561 (A.H. 1215/1800), 562 (A.D. 1870), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (2 copies, one dated A.H. 1021/1612 and the other A.H. 1215/1800-1. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 49, and vol. x, no. 3 (May 1934), pp. 137-8), **Ethé** 218 (not later than A.H. 1051/1641), 216 (n.d.), 217 (n.d.), 2989 ("excellent, but undated"), **Bānkīpūr** vii 549 (A.H. 1082/1671-2), Suppt. 1763 (fragment, more than one-third of the work. 17th cent.), **Bodleian** 180 (n.d. 28 PICTURES) 181-3 (three undated copies), **Edinburgh** 205 (old and good), 206 (A.H. 1303/1885), 207 (defective. 18th cent.), 76 (A.H. 1213 [?]/1798), **Ivanow** 113 (late 18th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 233 no. 160 (circ. A.D. 1780), **Āgrah College** (date ? Some illustrations from this MS. are reproduced in L. F. Rushbrook Williams's *An empire builder of the sixteenth century*, London 1918), **Alwar** State Library (date ? Some illustrations reproduced in the aforementioned work of Rushbrook Williams), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 86 ii (incomplete), **Bombay** Univ. p. 265, **Eton** 175 ("History of Farghānah" [sic], but the opening words, quoted in the catalogue, suffice to identify the work), **Mehren** p. 19 no. 50.

Edition of 'Abd al-Rahīm's translation: *Bābur-nāmah mausūm bah Tūzuk i Bāburī u Futūhāt i Bāburī*, **Bombay** 1308/1890\*. (For a criticism of this edition see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. x, no. 3 (Lahore, May 1934), p. 136.)

Extracts from 'Abd al-Rahīm's translation: [biographies of poets, scholars, musicians etc. edited by M. Shafī'] *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. x, no. 3 (**Lahore**, May 1934), pp. 140-9.

English translation of 'Abd al-Rahīm's Persian version: *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself, in the Jaghatai Turki, and translated [mainly from the Persian version] partly by the late John Leyden, partly by William Erskine . . .*, **London** 1826\* (Zenker i no. 956), *Life of Baber, Emperor of Hindostan, written by himself and*



*translated from the Jaghatai Toorki* [or rather, from the Persian version], by J. Leyden and W. Erskine. 2nd ed. **London** 1844 (Zenker ii no. 813), *Memoirs of Zehīr-ed-dīn Muhammed Bābur*, . . . written by himself, in the *Chaghatai Tūrki* and translated by J. Leyden . . . and W. Erskine . . . Annotated and revised by Sir Lucas King. **Oxford** 1921\*.

Abridgments of Leyden and Erskine's translation : (1) *Life of Baber, abridged from the Memoirs of Zehir-eddin Muhammed Baber . . .* by R. M. Caldecott. **London** 1844\* (Zenker ii no. 812), (2) *Memoirs of Baber Emperor of India, first of the Great Moghuls ; being an abridgment with an introduction, supplementary notes, and some account of his successors*, by Lieut.-Colonel F. G. Talbot. **London** 1909\*.

German translation of Leyden and Erskine's version : *Zehir-Eddin Muhammed Baber, Kaisers von Hindustan, Denkwürdigkeiten von ihm selbst im Dschagatai-Türkischen verfasst und nach der englischen Uebersetzung des J. Leyden und W. Erskine deutsch bearbeitet von A. Kaiser . . .* **Leipzig** 1828 (Zenker i no. 957).

Description and 57 pp. of extracts from Leyden and Erskine's translation : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* iv pp. 218-87.

699. Mīrzā **Barkhwurdār Turkmān** completed in 937/1530-1 and dedicated to Shāh Ismā'īl a work entitled *Aḥsan al-siyar*, which is one of the authorities used by L. F. Rushbrook Williams for *An empire builder of the sixteenth century* (London 1918), and which according to him (*op. cit.* p. viii) "recounts in great detail the relations between Babur and Shah Ismael [*sic*]" and is "noteworthy because the author, a Shiā [*sic*], who wrote with the professed object of correcting the *Habib-us-Siyar*, confirms it in all important respects".

*Aḥsan al-siyar*, a history, of which the fourth and last volume (the only part known to be extant) is a detailed account of Shāh Ismā'īl's reign<sup>1</sup> : **Rāmpūr** Nawwāb 'Abd al-Salām Khān's library (Vol. iv (last) only).

<sup>1</sup> This work would have been mentioned among the histories of Shāh Ismā'īl's reign, if Rushbrook Williams's article in the *J.A.S.B.* had come to notice earlier.



Description : *A new Persian authority on Bābur?* By L. E. Rushbrook Williams (in the *J.A.S.B.* N.S. Vol. xii (1916) pp. 297-8).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (c) THE TĪMŪRIDS

### (3) HUMĀYŪN.

(See also pp. 299, 543, 561, etc.)

700. **Khwānd-Amīr** was instructed to write the *Humāyūn-nāmah* on being presented to Humāyūn (b. 913/1508, acc. 937/1530, d. 963/1556) at Gwalior about the beginning of A.H. 941/1534. He died probably in the next year (see p. 101 *supra*).

*Humāyūn-nāmah*, an account of Humāyūn's rules and ordinances and of some buildings erected by him : **Rosen** Institut 23 (1) (10th/16th or 11th/17th cent.), **Rieu** iii 1024a (circ. A.D. 1850).

English translation by Sadāsuk'h Lāl : **B.M.** MS. Add. 30774 foll. 25-114.

Description with some translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v pp. 116-26.

701. Mihtar<sup>1</sup> **Jauhar**, for some years *Āftābchī*, or ewer-bearer, to Humāyūn, says towards the end of his *Tadhkirat al-wāqi'āt* (on fol. 132 in the **B.M.** MS. Add. 16711, which has 146 foll.) that in 962/1554-5 Humāyūn appointed him Collector of Haibatpūr and subsequently of Tatār **Khān** Lōdī's villages. Further on (fol. 135b in the same MS.) he calls himself Treasurer (*Khizānchī*) of the government of the Panjāb and Multān. In the *Akbar-nāmah* (i p. 346<sup>11-12</sup>, Beveridge's trans. i p. 627) his appointment to the office of Treasurer (*Khazīnah-dār*) of the province (*ṣūbah*) is mentioned among the events of 962/1554-5.

*Tadhkirat al-wāqi'āt*, memoirs of Humāyūn's reign, written,

<sup>1</sup> This title is prefixed to Jauhar's name in the *Akbar-nāmah* i p. 346<sup>11</sup>, and, evidently, in Ilāh-dād "Faidī's" epilogue to the *Humāyūn-Shāhī* (see **Rieu** iii 927a).



or at any rate begun, in 995/1586-7 : **Rieu** i 246 (A.H. 1019/1610), iii 1047a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Lindesiana** i p. 167 no. 412 (A.H. 1182/1768-9), no. 413 (A.D. 1863), **Browne** Suppt. 256 (King's 84, presented A.D. 1788), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 232 no. 715 (4th year of Bahādur Shāh II, i.e. A.D. 1840-1), **Bānkipūr** vii no. 550 (A.H. 1278/1862), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1287/1871. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Aug. 1926) p. 50).

English translation (bad) : *The Tezkereh al Vakiāt, or Private memoirs of . . . Humāyūn, written . . . by Jouher . . . ; translated by Major C. Stewart.* **London** 1832\* (Oriental Translation Fund), **Calcutta** 1904\* (with index).

MS. corrections of Stewart's translation by W. Erskine : **B.M. MSS.** Add. 26608 and 26620.

Description and 11 pp. of extracts from Stewart's translation : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* v pp. 136-49.

Later recension divided into five bābs (the last dealing with Akbar's accession) subdivided into *fuṣūl* : *Jawāhir i shāhī*,<sup>1</sup> **I.O.** 3946 (A.H. 1060/1650), **Ethé** 221.

Later recension in ornate prose written at Jauhar's request by Ilāh-dād "Faidī" Sirhindī (see p. 551 *infra*) for presentation to Akbar and divided into the same five chapters as the *Jawāhir i shāhī*<sup>1</sup> but having a new preface (with a dedication to Akbar) and an editor's epilogue, in which Ilāh-dād "Faidī" speaks of his contribution to the work : *Humāyūn-Shāhī*, **Bloch** i 563 (A.H. 1187/1773), **Rieu** iii 927a (A.H. 1264/1848), **Ethé** 222.

702. **Bāyazīd Bayāt**<sup>2</sup> was the younger brother of Shāh-Birdī

<sup>1</sup> The difference, if any, between the *Jawāhir i shāhī* and the *Humāyūn-Shāhī* remains to be investigated.

<sup>2</sup> This is a Turkish tribal name. Cf. *Ā'in i Akbarī* tr. Blochmann p. 581, note : *The Bayāt tribe is a Turkish tribe scattered over Āzarbāijān, Erivan, Tahrān, Fārs, and Nishāpūr* ; C. E. Yate *Khurasan and Sistan* pp 368-9 : *The district [i.e. the "Sar-i-Valayat" district, headquarters "Chakana"] contained 62 villages, big and little, all inhabited by Bayāt Turks, a tribe numbering some 15,000 families . . . These Bayāt Turks said that they had been brought to this district by Nadir Shah from Irak, or somewhere in the neighbourhood of Teheran* ; Babinger *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen* p. 31 : 15. *Bejātī Šejch Mahmūd. Er ist türkmenischer Herkunft ; der Name Bejātī deutet auf der Stamm der Bejāt (um Kerkuk).*



Bayāt, afterwards known as Bahrām “Saqqā”, the poet,<sup>1</sup> whom he joined at Gardēz in the service of Mīrzā Kāmran, Humāyūn’s half-brother. When Humāyūn entered Kābul in Ramadān 952/1545, all Kāmran’s officers, including Shāh-Birdī, deserted to Humāyūn, and Bāyazīd went with his brother. At the time of the festivities connected with Akbar’s circumcision at Qandahār in 953/1546 Shāh-Birdī under the influence of ecstasy (*jadhbah*) gave up the profession of soldiering and became a *saqqā*, or water-carrier, under the name of Bahrām i Saqqā. Subsequently at Āgrah he erected a *saqqā-khānah* under a *nīm*-tree on ground belonging to his brother. Considerably later than this Bāyazīd was chosen by Abū ’l-Faḍl at Akbar’s request for the purpose of writing the *Tārīkh i Humāyūn*, which he began in 999/1591 at Lahore and completed in 1000/1591–2 [?].

*Tārīkh i Humāyūn*, a history of the reigns of Humāyūn and Akbar, with accounts of the persons closely connected with them, opening with the year 949/1542 (when Humāyūn was forced to leave India) and ending with 999/1591: **Ethé** 223.

Translation (with omissions) of chapters i–iii, i.e. nearly half the work: *Memoirs of Bāizīd* [sic]. By B. P. Saksena (in *Allahabad University Studies*, vol. vi, pt. 1 (1930) pp. 71–148).

Abstract: *The Memoirs of Bāyazīd (Bajazet) Bīyāt* [sic]. By H. Beveridge (in *JASB.* lxvii, no. 1 (1898) pp. 296–316).

[Autobiographical statements (for which see H. Beveridge’s article in the *JASB.* for 1898 and the summary given by Maulawī ‘Abd al-Walī in the *JASB.* N.S. xx (1924) no. 7 p. 490); Gulbadan Bēgam *Humāyūn-nāmah*, ed. and tr. A. S. Beveridge, introduction, pp. 38, 64, 74.]

703. **Gulbadan Bēgam**, a daughter of the Emperor Bābur by his wife Dildār Bēgam and consequently a half-sister of Humāyūn, was eight years old when her father died in 937/1530. She had left Kābul and joined him at Āgrah in the preceding year.

<sup>1</sup> For the *dīwān* of “Saqqā” see Sprenger no. 499, de Jong 173, Āsafiyah i p. 724 nos. 23, 304, 432, Ethé 1436, Bānkīpūr ii 241–2, Lindesiana p. 214 no. 290b, Ivanow 669–70.



She married Khidr Khwājah Chaghātāy, who was *Amīr al-umārā'* under Humāyūn.<sup>1</sup> In 982/1576 she performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. She died at Āgrah on 6 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1011/7 May 1603 at the age of 82 lunar years.

(*Humāyūn-nāmah*), or (*Aḥwāl i Humāyūn Pādshāh*), personal memoirs written at Akbar's request as material for Abū 'l-Faḍl's *Akbar-nāmah*: **Rieu** i 247a (defective, breaking off after the blinding of Kāmraṇ (at the end of 960/1553 according to the *Akbar-nāmah* i 328). 17th cent.).

Editions: (1) *The history of Humāyūn (Humāyūn-nāma)*. By *Gul-badan Begam . . . Translated . . . and reproduced in the Persian from the only known MS. . . . By A. S. Beveridge*. London 1902\* (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S. 1), (2) *Humāyūn-nāmah i Gul-badan Bēgam*, **Lucknow** [1925\*].

English translation: see above Editions: (1).

[*Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī* ii 312<sup>8</sup> = Elliot and Dowson v p. 391; *Akbar-nāmah* iii 568<sup>6</sup>, 815<sup>6, 7</sup>, 817<sup>14</sup> etc. (see the index to Beveridge's translation, when published); *Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī* (mentioned by Rieu, iii p. 1083a, without precise reference, as authority for the date of Gul-badan's death. The occurrence would fall in vol. ii, and therefore not in the Bibliotheca Indica text); *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (presumably under the year 1011); **Rieu** i 247a, iii 1083a; Mrs. Beveridge's introduction to the *Humāyūn-nāmah*; *Ency. Isl.* under Gulbadan (H. Beveridge).]

704. In the time of Akbar was written

*Humāyūn-nāmah* (?), an epic poem on the life of Humāyūn: **Rieu** iii 1000b (defective at both ends and elsewhere. 17th cent.).

705. In the catalogue of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana no. 431 on p. 136 (dated A.D. 1826) is described as

*Iqbāl-nāmah . Tārīkh i Humāyūn Pādshāh* and is ascribed to "Faīdī" b. Mubārak, the well-known poet of Akbar's reign.

<sup>1</sup> For further information about him see *Ā'in i Akbarī* tr. Blochman n. 365 n.



It is not clear from the catalogue whether this is a poetical work or not, but it may be identical with poem mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (c) THE TĪMŪRIDS (4) AKBAR.

706. Sh. Abū 'l-Faīd "**Faīdī**" afterwards "**Faiyādī**" b. Mubārak, the elder brother of Abū 'l-Faḍl (for whom see p. 541 *infra*), was born at Āgrah in 954/1547, became *Malik al-shu'arā'* in Akbar's reign and died at his birthplace on 10 Ṣafar 1004/15 Oct. 1595. He began an *Akbar-nāmah*, which was to be, like "**Nizāmī's**" *Sikandar-nāmah*, the fifth poem of a *khamsah*, but, like the other four poems except the *Markaz i adwār* and *Nal Daman*, it was never finished. No copies of the unfinished poem seem to be extant. For further information concerning him and his works see the section on POETRY.

(*Zafar-nāmah i Aḥmadābād*),<sup>1</sup> a *mathnawī* on the conquest of Aḥmadābād by Akbar and the death of the *Sipahdār* M. Ḥusain Mirzā, who was defeated and put to death in 981/1573: **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. iv no. 2 (Feb. 1928) p. 13), **Rieu** iii 1001a (A.D. 1850).

[*Khulāṣat al-ash'ār* (Sprenger p. 37 no. 485); *Tabaqāt i Akbarī* ii pp. 486-8; *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* ii pp. 405-6 = Elliot and Dowson v pp. 544-9; *Ā'in i Akbarī* pp. 235-42, Blochmann's translation pp. 490-1, 548-63; *Mir'āt al-khayāl* pp. 79-81 (Bodl. 374 no. 65); *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 127); *Safīnah i Khwushgū* no. 317; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii pp. 584-90, Beveridge's trans. pp. 513-18; *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 144); *Khulāṣat al-afkār* no. 196; Sprenger pp. 401-2; *Haft āsmān* pp. 115-26; Browne *Lit. Hist.* iv 242-5; *Ency. Isl.* under Faizī [,] Shaikh; Brockelmann ii 417, Supptbd ii p. 610; For other authorities see the section POETRY.]

<sup>1</sup> This title has been invented as more appropriate than *Dāstān i Akbar Bādshāh*, which is that given in the *Oriental College Magazine*. No title is mentioned by Rieu.



707. **M. 'Ārif Qandahārī** was Steward (*Mīr-Sāmān*) to Bairam Khān Khān i Khānān,<sup>1</sup> the celebrated general of Humāyūn and Akbar's reigns, and was present at his deathbed in Gujrāt. After his death he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and on his return to India lived for a time in Bihār. In 985/1577-8 he came from Bihār and was presented to Akbar.

*Tārīkh i Akbarī*<sup>2</sup> or (*Tārīkh i Muḥammad 'Ārif i Qandahārī*), a history of Akbar's reign to the year 987/1579, being apparently only the last part of a larger work, since, according to Sri Ram Sharma, "there are cross-references to a history of the reign of Humāyūn, which, however, is missing": **Browne** Pers. Cat. 86 (i) (ending abruptly with Akbar's return from Ajmēr to Fathpūr-Sīkrī towards the end of Rajab 981/1573. Autograph?), **Rāmpūr** State Library (see Sri Ram Sharma in *JRAS.* 1933 pp. 807-11).

Description: *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandahari.* By Sri Ram Sharma (in *JRAS.* 1933 pp. 807-11).

[Autobiographical statements (for which see Sri Ram Sharma's article); *Ma'āthir i Raḥīmī* ii pp. 1<sup>4-5</sup>, 7<sup>6-17</sup>.]

708. For the *Tārīkh i Humāyūn*, a history of the reigns of Humāyūn and Akbar ending with the year 999/1591, see p. 538 *supra*.

For the (*Tārīkh i khānadān i Tīmūrīyah*), a history of Tīmūr (foll. 7-134), his successors to Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā (foll. 136-234), Bābur (foll. 238-73), Humāyūn (foll. 273-95) and Akbar to the 22nd year of his reign (foll. 295-338), see pp. 298-9 *supra*.

709. **Sh. Abū 'l-Faḍl** "Allāmī" was the second son of the

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of Bairam Khān see *Ā'in i Akbarī* tr. Blochmann pp. 315-17; *Ma'āthir i Raḥīmī* ii pp. 1-102 (where much of the information is quoted from M. 'Ārif's history); *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i pp. 371-84, Beveridge's translation pp. 368-78; *Ency. Isl.* under Bairam Khān (H. Beveridge), etc.

<sup>2</sup> This is the title by which the work is cited in the *Ma'āthir i Raḥīmī* ii p. 1 (*M. 'Ārif i Qandahārī kih Mīr-Sāmān u mulāzīm i Khān i Khānān i marḥūm mushār ilaihi ast dar Tārīkh i Akbarī kih ba-nām i nāmī i khalīfah i ilāh ... i Jāh āwardah kih etc.*).



scholar and Ṣūfī, Shaikh Mubārak Nāgaūrī (for whom see *Ā'in i Akbarī* tr. Blochmann pp. i-xx; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 584-5, Beveridge's trans. pp. 513-14; Raḥmān 'Alī 174 etc.), and the younger brother of the poet, Abū 'l-Faīḍ "Faīḍī".<sup>1</sup> He was born at Āgrah on 6 Muḥarram 958/14 Jan. 1551, was presented to Akbar in the 19th year of the reign (A.H. 981/1573-4) by "Faīḍī", and soon became a close friend of the Emperor's. He is said to have been mainly responsible for destroying Akbar's faith in Islām. After distinguishing himself as a military commander in the Deccan he was returning to court, when on 4 Rabī i 1011/22 Aug. 1602 he was assassinated at the instigation of Prince Salīm (afterwards the Emperor Jahāngīr) by a Būndēlah chief, Bīr-Sing'h Dēv, who sent his head to Salīm at Allahabad. His body was taken to Antrī near Gwalior and buried there.

He is the author of the '*Iyār i dānish*', a modernised version of the *Anwār i Suhailī*, and he wrote prefaces for the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Tārīkh i alfī*.<sup>2</sup>

Two collections of letters composed by him are extant. The best known, properly entitled *Mukātabāt i 'Allāmī* (a chronogram = 1015/1606-7, the date of completion) but often called *Inshā i Abū 'l-Faḍl* or *Mukātabāt i Abū 'l-Faḍl*, was begun soon after his death in 1011/1602 by his sister's son 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Afdal Muḥammad and is divided into four *daftars* (viz. (1) letters written in Akbar's name to kings and *amīrs*, (2) letters written by Abū 'l-Faḍl to kings and *amīrs*, (3) exordia and conclusions of letters, select extracts and detached pieces in prose, (4) fifty-two letters of which the first is written in Akbar's name to 'Abd Allāh Khān Ūzbak and the rest in Abū 'l-Faḍl's name to various persons). The fourth *daftar* is very rare (for MSS. see Bānkīpūr ix 869 and apparently Vollers 964), but manuscripts of the first three *daftars* are common and numerous editions have been published. The second collection is usually called *Ruqa'āt i Abū 'l-Faḍl*. It consists of private letters and was compiled by his nephew Nūr [al-Dīn] Muḥammad. Editions

<sup>1</sup> See p. 540 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> The latter preface is not to be found in the MSS. of the *Tārīkh i alfī*.



have been published at Calcutta in 1238/1822-3\* and at Cawnpore in 1872.\* For MSS. see Rieu ii 838b, Ethé 287 etc.

(1) (*Akbar-nāmah*), a detailed history of Akbar's reign with an account of his predecessors, commonly said to be divided into three *daftar*s,<sup>1</sup> of which the first, completed in *Shā'bān* 1004/1596, the 41st regnal year, is subdivided into two parts ((1) Akbar's birth, genealogy of the *Timūrids*, reigns of *Bābur* and *Humāyūn*, (2) Akbar's reign from the first to the middle of the 17th year<sup>2</sup>), the second continues the narrative from the middle of the 17th year to the end of the 46th,<sup>3</sup> while the third, known by the independent title *Ā'in i Akbarī*, deals with the administration and statistics of the empire<sup>4</sup>: London Victoria and Albert Museum

<sup>1</sup> According to the author's own statement in the preface to *Daftar ii* (Bibliotheca Indica edition, vol. iii p. 3, ll. 14-16) his plan was to devote a separate *daftar* to each period of thirty years in Akbar's life (*chunān bar khātir i šāfi partau andākht kih har sī-sālah sawāniḥ i kishwar-khudāy rā judāgānah i daftarī nigāsh-tah sa'adat-nāmah i khwud rā tāzah furūghī bakhshad*), but, although divisions are indicated in the text by bombastic exordia and epilogues, these latter do not state clearly that such and such a *daftar*, or such and such a part, is there beginning or ending. In accordance with the author's apparent intention it is customary to regard the portion extending from Akbar's birth to the middle (or to the end, as the case may be) of the 17th regnal year as *Daftar i* and to regard this as consisting of two "parts", there being a division of the kind indicated above, though the two "parts" are not formally so designated. The rest of the *Akbar-nāmah* is treated as *Daftar ii*. The *Ā'in i Akbarī* is sometimes, in manuscripts (e.g. Mehren 54) and elsewhere, called *Daftar iii*, though the author's text seems to give no warrant for calling it so.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. to the birth of *Dāniyāl*, or rather to Akbar's encamping at *Nāgaur* a few days later (9 *Jumādā i* A.H. 980/17 September 1572). In many, apparently in most, of the manuscripts, however, the first *daftar* ends with a full account of the 17th year. In such copies *Daftar ii* begins with the 18th year, and Rieu in fact describes Vol. i [i.e. *Daftar i*] Part 2 as containing "History of Akbar from his accession to the end of the 17th year of his reign" and Vol. ii [i.e. *Daftar ii*] as containing "Continuation of Akbar's reign from the beginning of the 18th to the end of the 46th year" (see Rieu i p. 248a).

<sup>3</sup> Continuations of the narrative to Akbar's death in the 50th year by 'Ināyat Allāh [b.] Muḥibb 'Alī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ [Kanbō ?] are in existence. According to Beveridge (trans. vol. iii p. 1204) they are more or less reproductions of the *Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī*. The Bibliotheca Indica edition contains one which the editor ascribes to Muḥibb 'Alī Khān (no doubt identical with that of 'Ināyat Allāh [b.] Muḥibb 'Alī).

<sup>4</sup> It is treated separately on pp. 549-51 below.



(about 110 ILLUSTRATIONS<sup>1</sup> by painters of Akbar's time, beginning with the fifth year and ending with the twenty-second. Clarke MS.), **Browne** Suppt. 82 ("all three vols." A.H. 1007/1598-9 [*sic* ?]. King's 31), 80 (Vols. ? Bears a seal of 1164/1751. Christ's), 81 (an abridgment ? Corpus), Pers. Cat. 87-8 (*Daftars* i-ii, both defective. *Daftar* ii dated A.H. 1042/1632), 89 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1034/1625), 90 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. A.H. 1140/1728), 91 (*Daftar* ii. 47th year of ['Ālamgīr's] reign), **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 92 no. 995 (" *Jild i awwal*." Probably written about the author's time), i p. 218 no. 712 (" *Thulth i duwwum* "), no. 709 (" *Thulth i siwwum* "), **R.A.S.** P. 115 = Morley 110 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1014/1605), P. 114 (1) = Morley 109 (*Daftars* i-ii. A.H. 1145-6/1732-3), P. 116 = Morley 111 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1232/1816), P. 117-8 = Morley 112-3 (*Daftar* i), P. 119-20 = Morley 114-5 (*Daftar* i), **D.M.G.** 10 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1016/1607), **Bloch** i 566 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1021/1612), 576 (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1082/1671), 564 (*Daftars* i-ii. Early 18th cent.), 565 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2, and *Daftar* ii. Various dates from mid 17th cent. to A.H. 1210/1795), 567 (*Daftar* i. Late 17th cent.), 568 (*Daftar* i. Late 17th cent.), 569 (*Daftar* i. Early 18th cent.), 570 (*Daftar* i. 18th cent.), 571 (*Daftar* i. 18th cent.), 572 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. A.H. 1205/1790), 573 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2), 574 (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1101/1689), 575 (*Daftar* ii to 20th year. 18th cent.), **Majlis** 217 (A.H. 1023/1614), **Leningrad** Mus. Asiat. (*Ṣaḥīfah i Shāhī* (? ?). Two copies, one defective at beginning dated A.H. 1024/1615 (see *Mélanges asiatiques* ii (St. Petersburg 1852-6), p. 58) and the other breaking off in 979/1572 (see Dorn A.M. p. 678)), Pub. Lib. (2 copies. See *Mélanges asiatiques* iii (St. Petersburg 1859), p. 728), **Cairo** p. 499 (A.H. 1026/1617), **Lindesiana**, p. 107 nos. 798-800 ("3 vols." A.H. 1044/1634-5), no. 223 ("2 vols." A.H. 1042/1632-3), p. 108 no. 168 (*Daftar* i. Circ. A.D. 1700), no. 169 (*Daftars* i-ii, defective. Circ. A.D. 1750), no. 404 (*Daftars* i-ii. 17 PICTURES. Circ. A.D. 1820), no. 819 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2, and *Daftar* ii. A.H. 1228/1813),

<sup>1</sup> See H. Beveridge *Note on an illuminated Persian manuscript* (in the *JRAS.* 1905 pp. 365-6). A MS. of *Daftar* i belonging to S. 'Alī Bilgrāmī, "containing passages which do not occur in the printed editions" and believed by H. Beveridge to show the original condition, was described in the *JRAS.* 1903 pp. 115-22. For another old MS. (Chester Beatty) see *BSOS.* iv p. 721.



**Ethé** 235 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1065/1655, *Daftar* ii. A.H. 1106/1695), 236 (*Daftars* i–ii), 237 (*Daftars* i–ii. A.H. 1111/1699–1700 and 1132/1719–20), 238 (*Daftars* i–ii, breaking off in 19th year), 239 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1073–4/1663), 240 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1101/1689), 241 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1111/1699), 242 (*Daftar* i), 243 (*Daftar* i), 244 (*Daftar* i), 245 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. A.H. 1094/1683), 246 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1), 247 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1), 248 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. A.H. 1223/1808), 249 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1), 250 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1), 251 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1 and fragment of pt. 2), 252 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. A.H. 1098/1686), 253 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2), 254 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2), 255 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2, and *Daftar* ii. A.H. 1101/1690 (?)), 256 (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1048/1639), 257 (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1159/1747), 258 (*Daftar* ii), 259 (*Daftar* ii), 260 (*Daftar* ii with M. Şālih's continuation. A.H. 1225/1810), 261 (*Daftar* ii with M. Şālih's continuation, defective at end), 262 (large fragment of *Daftar* ii), 263 (fragment of *Daftar* ii), 3010 (*Daftar* i), **I.O.** 3917 (*Daftar* ii, defective), 3919 (*Daftar* i, defective and disarranged), 3963 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2), **Vollers** 974 (part i [i.e. presumably *Daftar* i]. A.H. 1053/1643–4), 975 (nearly complete), **Bānkipūr** vii 552 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1242/1827), 553 (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1059/1649), Suppt. 1764 (from the latter part of the 30th to the 46th year. Dated 38th year of Aurangzēb), **Bodleian** 200 (*Daftars* i–ii with M. Şālih's continuation. A.D. 1831), 201–4 (four copies of *Daftar* i), 205–7 (three copies of *Daftar* i, pt. 1), 208 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2 with M. Şālih's continuation), 209 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2, and *Daftar* ii. A.H. 1133/1721), 210 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2 and fragment of *Daftar* ii), 211 (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1064/1654), 212 (an abridgment of *Daftar* ii), MS. Pers. c. 25 (*Daftar* i. A.D. 1812–14), **Leyden** iii p. 9 no. 920 (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1072/1661–2), v p. 230 no. 2638 (part of *Daftar* ii (end of 27th year to 47th)), **Āyā Şūfiyah** 3017 = Tauer 546 (vol. i. A.H. 1073/1662), **Rieu** i 247 (*Daftars* i–ii (the latter defective) with part of iii. Text differs in places considerably from the Lucknow ed. A.H. 1080/1670), 248b (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1097/1686), 249a (*Daftar* i. 17th cent.), 249a (*Daftar* i. 17th cent.), 249b (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1114/1702), 249b (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1119/1707), 249b (*Daftar* i. 18th cent.), 250a (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. 17th cent.), 250a (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. 18th cent.), 250a (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. 18th cent.), 250a (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. 17th cent.), 250b (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. A.H. 1151/1738), 250b (*Daftar* i



pt. 2. 18th cent.), 250*b* (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. A.H. 1113/1701), 250*b* (*Daftar* i, pt. 2 and *Daftar* ii. 18th cent.), 251*a* (*Daftar* i, pt. 2, and part of *Daftar* iii. A.H. 1166/1753), 251*a* (*Daftar* ii. Early 17th cent.), 251*b* (*Daftar* ii. A.H. 1183/1770), 251*b* (*Daftars* i-ii. 76 PICTURES. A.H. 1232/1817), iii 928*a* (*Daftar* i, pt. 1, defective. 17th cent.), 928*a* (fragment. Circ. A.D. 1850), 928*a* (fragment. 2 PICTURES. 17th cent.), 1047*a* (extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Mehren** 51 (*Daftar* i), 52 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2 and *Daftar* ii. A.H. 1099/1687-8), 53 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2 to end of 12th year. A.H. 1180/1766-7), **Nūr i 'Uthmāniyah** 3081 = Tauer 544 (*Daftar* i. 11th/17th cent.), 3154 = Tauer 547 (*Daftar* i. 11th/17th cent.), **As'ad** 2201 = Tauer 545 (*Daftar* i. 11th/17th cent.), **Adabiyāt Kutubkhānah-sī** 788 = Tauer 548 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. 11th/17th cent.), 783 = Tauer 549 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. A.H. 1002/1593 (? ?)), **Berlin** 482 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. A.H. 1105/1694), 481 (*Daftar* i), 483 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1), **Aumer** 248 (*Daftars* i-ii. A.H. 1107-8/1696), 249 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2), 250 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2), 251 (*Daftar* ii with M. Ṣālih's continuation. A.H. 1100/1688-9), **Calcutta Madrasah** 129 (*Daftar* i. Late 17th cent.), 130 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2 and *Daftar* ii. A.H. 1107/1695-6), 131 (*Daftar* ii, defective, 18th year to 40th year. 19th cent.), **Rehatsek** p. 76 no. 14 (*Daftar* i. A.H. 1151/1738-9), p. 92 no. 39 (*Daftar* i), p. 93 nos. 40 (*Daftar* i, defective, ending in Bābur's reign), 41 (*Daftar* ii, slightly defective. Ornate copy), **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A. I. 10 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. A.H. 1154/1742), **Būhār** 63 (*Daftar* i, pt. 1. 17th cent.), 64 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2, defective at end), **Ivanow** 122 (*Daftars* i-ii with M. Ṣālih's continuation. A.H. 1206/1791-2), 123 (*Daftar* i, defective at end. 18th cent.), 124 (*Daftar* i. 18th cent.), 125 (*Daftar* i, defective at end. 18th cent.), 126 (*Daftar* i. 19th cent.), Curzon 26 (*Daftar* i, pt. 2. 17th cent.), **Edinburgh** 78 (*Daftars* i-ii. Old), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (one old copy of "vol. i," one defective copy, two copies (one defective) of "vol. ii". See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, No. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 50), **'Aligarh** Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 61 no. 28 (*Daftar* i), **Bukhārā** Semenov 12 (?), **Dorn** Asiat. Mus. (defective, ending with A.H. 979/1572), **Eton** 181, **Madras** (3 (complete ?) copies and 1 of *Daftar* iii), **Mashhad** iii p. 73, **T.C.D.** 1580.



Editions : **Lucknow** 1867<sup>o\*</sup>,<sup>1</sup> 1913\* (*Akbar Nama. Part I. With explanatory notes. A rapid reading course for the [Allahabad Univ.] B.A. examination . . . for 1914-1915*), **Calcutta** 1873-87<sup>o\*</sup> (edited by Āghā Aḥmad 'Alī and 'Abd al-Raḥīm. With index. Bibliotheca Indica), **Cawnpore-Lucknow** 1881-3<sup>o\*</sup> (with notes by M. Ṣādiq 'Alī Lak'hnavī), **Cawnpore** 1881<sup>o</sup> (vol. i only ? With notes).

English translation : *The Akbarnāma of Abu-l-Faẓl, translated . . . by H. Beveridge . . .*, **Calcutta** 1897-1921<sup>o\*</sup> (Bibliotheca Indica).<sup>2</sup>

Abridged English translations : (1) [the whole work] by Lieut. Chalmers : **R.A.S.** MS. (2) [Bābur and Humāyūn] *Chronological retrospect, or memoirs of the principal events of Mahommedan history . . . By Major David Price*, vol. iii, part 2 (**London** 1821\*) pp. 658-950. (3) [Humāyūn's reign and that of Akbar to his 29th regnal year] **B.M.** MSS. Add. 26607, 26620-1.

Translated extracts : (1) *An account of the siege and reduction of Chaitūr, by the Emperor Akbar. From the Akbar-Namah of Shaikh Abul Fazl. Translated by Major D. Price* (in *Miscellaneous translations from Oriental languages*, **London** 1831-4<sup>o\*</sup> (Oriental Translation Fund), vol. 2). (2) *Koch Bihār, Koch Hājo, and Āsām, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbarnāmah, the Pādishāhnāmah, and the Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah. By H. Blochmann* (in the *JASB.* 41 (1872) pp. 49-101). (3) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 9-102 (translated by J. Dowson).

Continuation [or continuations] : *Takmilah i Akbar-nāmah*, a detailed account of Akbar's reign from the 47th year to his

<sup>1</sup> "A lithographed edition of the *Akbar-nāma*, in three quarto volumes was printed at Lucknow in 1867, at the expense of the Rājā of Pattiāla. It is a handsome and costly work, and it is greatly to be regretted that its literary value is by no means commensurate with the money expended upon it. Gross and obvious errors abound in it, and there are many passages wanting. In one instance the annals of six months of one of the most important years of the reign (the 17th) are altogether omitted." (Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 8-9.)

<sup>2</sup> Only the index to vol. iii remains to be published.



death by 'Ināyat Allāh [b.<sup>1</sup>] Muḥibb 'Alī [?] or M. Ṣāliḥ [?] or both [? <sup>2</sup>]: **Aumer** 251 (author not specified in the catalogue. A.H. 1100/1688-9), **Ivanow** 122 (M. Ṣāliḥ. A.H. 1206/1791-2), **Ethé** 260 (M. Ṣāliḥ. A.H. 1225/1810), 261 (M. Ṣāliḥ), **Bodleian** 200 (M. Ṣāliḥ. A.D. 1831), 208 (author not specified), **Rieu** iii 929a ('Ināyat Allāh [b.] Muḥibb 'Alī. A.H. 1268/1851), 1031b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1847. Ascribed on the fly-leaf to 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. Afdal Muḥammad, the son of Abū 'l-Faḍl's sister), Suppt. 76 i (18th cent.) **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. ('Ināyat Allāh [b.] Muḥibb 'Alī. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (Lahore, Aug. 1926) p. 50), and doubtless in other MSS. of the *Akbar-nāmah* recorded above.

Edition of the *Takmilah*: *Akbar-nāmah*, **Calcutta** 1873-87\* (Bibliotheca Indica), vol. iii pp. 802-43.

English translation of the *Takmilah*: *The Akbarnāma . . . translated . . . by H. Beveridge . . .*, **Calcutta** 1897-1921\* (Bibliotheca Indica), vol. iii pp. 1206-62.

Abridged English translation of the *Takmilah*<sup>3</sup> by Lieut. Chalmers: **R.A.S.** MS. (at the end of Chalmers's abridged translation of the *Akbar-nāmah*).

<sup>1</sup> Rieu states in his Additions and Corrections p. 1096a ad 929a that in the *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī*, fol. 131b, the author is called 'Ināyat Allāh b. Muḥibb 'Alī.

<sup>2</sup> "The circumstance that the author of the continuation is sometimes called 'Ināyat Ullah and sometimes Muḥibb 'Alī [and sometimes M. Ṣāliḥ] may be due to the fact that there are more than one continuation" (Beveridge, *Akbar-nāmah* trans. iii p. 1204, where some information is given about the continuation). The continuation seems to have been written in *Shāh-Jahān*'s time, and the two authors referred to are presumably the brothers 'Ināyat Allāh Kanbō, author of the *Bahār i dānish*, and M. Ṣāliḥ Kanbō, author of the *'Amal i ṣāliḥ*. According to Beveridge the continuation [or the one examined by him] is copied from the *Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī*.

<sup>3</sup> According to Rieu the *Takmilah i Akbar-nāmah* described by him (vol. iii p. 929) "is quite distinct from the *Takmilah i Akbar Nāmah* described in Elliot's History of India, vol. vi, pp. 103-115, and appears, from a comparison with the extracts there given, to be much fuller". Similarly Beveridge observes (*Akbar-nāmah* trans. iii p. 1204) "The continuation as given by Chalmers differs considerably from that in the Bib. Ind. ed. and the continuation in Nos. 260 and 261 of the I.O. differs from both of them. But evidently all the continuations are more or less reproductions of the *Iqbāl-nāma*".



Description of the *Takmilah* and 12 pp. of extracts from Chalmers's abridged translation : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 103-15.

(2) (*Ā'in i Akbarī*), a detailed account of the administration and statistics of Akbar's empire divided into five *daftars* ((1) on Akbar's household and court,<sup>1</sup> (2) on the state service,<sup>2</sup> lists of scholars, notices of poets etc., (3) on the Ilāhī era, the revenue,<sup>3</sup> the statistics of the provinces etc., (4) on the Hindus, their literature, institutions etc., foreign invaders of India, distinguished travellers, Muḥammadan saints etc., (5) sayings of Akbar collected by Abū 'l-Faḍl) : **Browne** Suppt. 82 (A.H. 1007/1598-9 [*sic* ?]. King's 31), 144 (n.d. King's 5), Pers. Cat. 92 (year 1785 of some Hindu era), **Lindesiana** p. 108 no. 170 (A.H. 1036/1626-7), 171 (A.H. 1115/1703-4), 172 (circ. A.D. 1700-10), p. 107 no. 800 (A.H. 1044/1634-5), **Leyden** iii p. 10 no. 921 (A.H. 1037/1627-8 (?)), **R.A.S.** P. 121 = Morley 116 (A.H. 1066/1655), **Rieu** i 248b (from the beginning to the chapter on the Arsenal. A.H. 1080/1670), 251a (from the beginning to the chapter on the *Manṣabdārs*. A.H. 1166/1817), 251b (17th cent.), 252a (17th cent.), 252a (A.H. 1130/1718), 252a (18th cent.), 252b (defective. 18th cent.), 252b (A.H. 1196/1782), 252b (account of the *ṣūbahs* only. 18th cent.), 252b (account of the Hindus only. 18th cent.), iii 928b (account of the *ṣūbahs*. Circ. A.D. 1850), 928b (topographical tables only. A.D. 1847), 1019b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1020b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1070a (early 17th cent.), **Ethé** 264, 265 (A.H. 1119/1707), 266-9 (four undated copies), **Eton** 184, 185 (A.H. 1133/1720-1), **Aumer**

<sup>1</sup> For the elucidation of *Ā'in* 27 (*Ā'in i nirkh i ajnās*) see W. H. Moreland's articles *Prices and wages under Akbar* (JRAS. 1917 pp. 817-25) and *The value of money at the court of Akbar* (JRAS. 1918 pp. 375-85).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. H. Moreland's article *Rank (manṣab) in the Mogul state service* (JRAS. 1936 pp. 641-65).

<sup>3</sup> For the elucidation of this subject see W. H. Moreland's articles *Akbar's land-revenue system as described in the "Ain-i-Akbari"* (by W. H. M. and A. Yūsuf 'Alī. JRAS. 1918 pp. 1-42), *The development of the land-revenue system of the Mogul empire* (JRAS. 1922 pp. 19-35), *Akbar's land revenue arrangements in Bengal* (JRAS. 1926 pp. 43-56), *Sher Shah's revenue system* (JRAS. 1926 pp. 447-59), *The Mogul unit of measurement* (JRAS. 1927 pp. 101-2).



252 (A.H. 1148/1735-6), 253-5 (three undated copies), 256 (fragment), **Mehren** 54 (A.H. 1171/1758), 55 (*Daftars* i-iii apparently), **Blochet** i 577 (A.H. 1187/1773), 578 (18th cent.), **Edinburgh** 208 (A.H. 1197/1782), 209 (abridged account of the *ṣūbahs* only), 210 ("merely an abridgement of some of the minor institutes"), **Bānkipūr** viii 554 (18th cent.), 555 (19th cent.), 552 (A.H. 1242/1827), **Berlin** 484 (A.H. 1209/1795 (?)), 484a (formerly owned by Langlès. Ornate copy), **Ivanow** 127 (late 11th or early 12th cent. H. PICTURES), 128-34, Curzon 696 (A.D. 1803), **Bombay** Fyzee 5 (18th cent. "Magnificent copy"), **Būhār** 65 (19th cent.), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (two copies, one very defective and the other in disorder. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (August 1926) p. 51), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 218 no. 706 (vol. i only), 709, ii p. 1782 no. 136, **Bodleian** 213 ("splendid copy." N.d. PICTURES), 214-16, MS. Pers. b. 5 (A.H. 1234/1818), **Rehatsek** p. 68 no. 1 (n.d.), **T.C.D.** 1585.

Editions : **Delhi** 1272/1855° (vols. i and iii (last) only).<sup>1</sup> Edited, with illustrations, by S. Aḥmad **Khān**, **Lucknow** 1869°\*, 1882° (with illustrations), 1893 (see *Āṣafīyah* iii p. 92 no. 1232), **Calcutta** 1867-77°\* (ed. by H. Blochmann. Bibliotheca Indica).

Extracts : *Selections from the A'in-i-Akbari . . . by Maulawi M. Rafi Siddiqi (Intikḥāb i Ā'in i Akbarī)*, **Allahabad** 1931\*.

. English translations : (1) *Ayeen Akbery ; or, The institutes of the Empror Akber, translated . . . by Francis Gladwin*, **Calcutta** 1783-6°\* (an abridged and inaccurate paraphrase of *Daftars* i-iii), **London** 1800°\*, **Calcutta** 1898° (vols. i and ii only. Edited by Jagadis Mukhopadhyaya), (2) *The Ain i Akbari by Abul Fazl 'Allamī, translated . . . by H. Blochmann* (vols. ii and iii by H. S. Jarrett.) **Calcutta** 1868-1894°\* (Bibliotheca Indica).

Index : *A supplementary index of the place names on pages 89 to 414 of the 'Ain [sic]-i-Akbarī, Vol. ii (Translated by Colonel H. S. Jarrett.) Compiled by W. Irvine and L. M. Anstey*, **Calcutta** 1910°\* (Bibliotheca Indica).

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii, delayed for further consideration of the matter relating to the revenue, was destroyed at the time of the Mutiny, when it was in the press (see *Ḥayāt i jāwīd* (in Urdu) i p. 65).



Annotations to Gladwin's translation: *Supplement to the first volume of Gladwin's Ayeen Akberi, prepared for the use of students by L. F. Rushbrook Williams . . . together with a chronological table of the reign of Akbar compiled by Ram Prasad Tripathi . . . assisted by Harish Chandra Misra, London* (Beccles printed) 1918°\* (Publications of the Department of Modern Indian History, Allahabad University, No. 2).

Translated extract: *The Ayin Akbary, or the institutes of the Emperor Akbar. Translated . . . [by F. Gladwin], London 1777°* (81 pp. only, published as a specimen of the translation published at Calcutta in 1783-6).

Commentary: *Sharḥ i Ā'in i Akbarī*, an abridgment with a running commentary by Najaf 'Alī Khān b. M. 'Azīm al-Dīn, of Jhajar, written for Sir H. M. Elliot: *Rieu* iii 928b (A.H. 1267/1851).

Abridgments: (1) *Muntakhab i Ā'in i Akbarī*, *Ethé* 270, (2) *Dastūr al-'amal*, *Lindesiana* p. 108 no. 765 (A.H. 1103/1691) and p. 131 no. 765 [?], *Bānkipūr* xi 1098 xxx (18th cent.).

[Autobiography in *Ā'in i Akbarī* (at end); *Tabaqāt i Akbarī* ii p. 458; 'Abd al-Qādir *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* ii pp. 173<sup>6-8</sup>, 198-200, 260<sup>6-7</sup>, 261<sup>11</sup>, 262<sup>8</sup>-263, 306<sup>12</sup>, 318 antepenult.; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 608-22, Beveridge's trans. pp. 117-28; biography by Blochmann prefixed (as pp. i-xxxvi) to his translation of the *Ā'in i Akbarī*; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 1-6; M. Husain "Āzād" *Darbār i Akbarī* (in Urdu); Rahmān 'Alī 4-5; *Ency. Isl.* under Abū 'l-Faḍl; *Abulfazl* by Sh. Abdul Qadir in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* i (1911-12) pp. 31-7. Portrait in *BSOS*. iv, facing p. 721.]

710. Sh. Ilāh-dād "Faidī" b. *Asad al-'ulamā'* 'Alī Shēr Sirhindī,<sup>1</sup> who in A.H. 1001/1592-3 composed the Persian dictionary *Madār al-afādil* (*Rieu* ii 496a etc.), was in the service of the *Bakhshī al-mulk*, Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī (afterwards entitled Murtaḍā Khān<sup>2</sup>). His revised edition of Jauhar's Memoirs, *Tārīkh i*

<sup>1</sup> "Shaikh Illahdād [sic] was a native of Sirhind, and held a *madad-ma'āsl* village in that district" (Elliot and Dowson vi p. 116).

<sup>2</sup> For whom see *Ā'in i Akbarī* tr. Blochmann i 413, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* tr. Rogers i 13 etc., *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 633.



*Humāyūn-Shāhī*, has already been mentioned (p. 537 *supra*). He was in his 36th year when he began his *Akbar-nāmah*, having previously been greatly devoted to social pleasures.

(*Akbar-nāmah*), a plain history of Akbar to A.H. 1010/1601, compiled apparently from the *Ṭabaqāt i Akbar-Shāhī* (see p. 433 *supra*) and the *Akbar-nāmah* of Abū 'l-Faḍl (see p. 543 *supra*) but with additions, especially concerning Shāikh Farīd, at whose suggestion it was written<sup>1</sup>: **Rieu** i 253a (17th cent.), iii 929b (A.H. 1264/1848), **Ethé** 289 (A.H. 1104/1693), **Caetani** 68 (A.D. 1826).

Description and 30 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi 116–46.

[Autobiographical statements in the *Akbar-nāmah* (see Elliot and Dowson and Rieu) and in the preface to the *Madār al-afādil*; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 1910; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi 116–17.]

711. Āqā<sup>2</sup> or Khawājah<sup>3</sup> 'Abd al-Bāqī "Bāqī" b. Khawājah Āqā Bābā Kurd<sup>4</sup> **Nihāwandī** was born at Jūlak near Nihāwand in 978/1570. His father, a Kurd of Jūlak, was made a *Wazīr* and *Nāẓir* of Hamadān by Shāh 'Abbās. 'Abd al-Bāqī himself was for some time revenue officer of Kāshān, Raiy, Qazwīn and Qumm, and eventually became a *Wazīr* in place of his brother Āqā Khidr. On incurring the King's displeasure he decided to leave Persia and in 1023/1614 he reached Burhānpūr, where the Khān i Khānān, 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Bairam Khān,<sup>5</sup> welcomed him and asked him to write the *Ma'āthir i Rahīmī*, which he completed in 1025/1616. Until 1029/1619 he served as *Amīn* of the Deccan and Barār. Subsequently Sultān Parwēz, Jahāngīr's second son, made him *Dīwān* of Bihār. The statement of the *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (see Rieu iii 1080b) that he died in 1042/

<sup>1</sup> Sh. Farīd, having remarked that the *Wāqī'āt i Mushtāqī* (see p. 513 *supra*) concluded with the period of Humāyūn and contained no notice of Akbar's reign, desired the author to supply the deficiency (Rieu i p. 253a).

<sup>2</sup> So Rieu iii 1080b.

<sup>3</sup> So Taqī Kāshī (Sprenger p. 39).

<sup>4</sup> For a notice of Hājji Āqā Bābā "Mudrikī" see Taqī Kāshī *Khulāṣat l-ash'ār* (Sprenger p. 39 no. 527).

<sup>5</sup> For this celebrated general and governor of Akbar's time see p. 533 *supra*.



1632 seems to be incorrect, since a Calcutta MS. (Ivanow 140) contains a note saying that it was collated by the author himself in 1046/1637.

*Ma'āthir i Raḥīmī*, a life of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān i Khānān padded with a history of Islāmic India in his own and in previous times and divided into a *Muqaddimah* (on his ancestors), four *faṣls* ((1) on his father (Bairam Khān) and his own youth together with a history of Hindūstān from the Ghaznawids to Jahāngīr and of Bengal, Jaunpūr, Mālwah, Kashmīr and Multān, (2) on his public career, campaigns etc. together with a history of the *sultāns* of Gujrāt, Sind, the Deccan, and Khāndēs, (3) on the mosques, colleges, baths etc. built or repaired at his expense, (4) on his children) and a *khātimah* (notices of contemporary celebrities): **Browne** Pers. Cat. 93 (apparently corrected (except the *khātimah*) by the author at Burhānpūr in 1030/1621), **Ivanow** 140 (apparently collated by the author in 1046/1637), 141 (*khātimah* only. Early 19th cent.), **Bānkīpūr** viii 722 (*khātimah* only, defective. Not later than 1046/1636), **Rieu** 131b (extracts only. 19th cent.), 970b (abstract of contents only).

Edition: *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* (*Memoirs of 'Abd ur-Raḥīm Khān Khānān*) by Mullā 'Abd ul-Bāqī Nahāvandī. Edited by . . . M. Hidayet Husain . . ., **Calcutta** 1910-31<sup>\*1</sup> (Bibliotheca Indica).

Description and a translated extract of 3 pp.: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 237-43.

[Taqī Kāshī *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, *Khātimah*, Aṣl xi (Hamadān) (Sprenger p. 39 nos. 527 (Hājji Āqā Bāqī "Mudrikī"), 528 (Khawājah 'Abd al-Bāqī); *Ma'āthir i Raḥīmī* iii pp. 1535-76 (see also the editor's introduction); *Tadhkirah i Tāhir i Naṣrā-bādī* i p. 124; *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bodleian 376) no. 650; *Makhzan al-qharā'ib* (Bodleian 395) no. 1562; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 239-40; Bānkīpūr viii p. 164.]

712. **Asad Bēg** "Asad" b. Khwājah Murād **Qazwīnī**, a native of Qazwīn, was for a time *Dawātdār* to the Wazīr Khwājah

<sup>1</sup> An index to the three volumes remains to be published.



Afdal at Harāt. Settling in India he served Shaikh Abū 'l-Faḍl b. Mubārak for seventeen years and after his death in 1011/1602 entered the service of Akbar, by whom he was sent on a mission to Bījāpūr in connexion with the marriage of Prince Dāniyāl to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh's daughter. On his return Akbar appointed him chamberlain, an office which he held for a year. Then he was appointed envoy to the four provinces of the Deccan. Not long after his departure on this mission Akbar died and he was recalled by Jahāngīr, who dismissed him. Subsequently he was received into favour and given the title Pēsh-rau Khān. According to the *Mir'āt i jahān-numā* (Rieu 890, fol. 302) he died in 1030/1620-1, leaving a *dīwān* of 8000 lines and some *mathnawīs*, but according to a note at the end of a B.M. MS. of his memoirs (Rieu iii 979) he died in 1041/1631-2 under Shāh-Jahān.

(*Hālāt i Asad Bēg*) or (*Aḥwāl i Asad Bēg*), memoirs of the author's life from the murder of Abū 'l-Faḍl [in 1011/1602] to the death of Akbar and the accession of Jahāngīr [in 1014/1605]: **Rieu** iii 979*b* (A.H. 1211/1796), 1029*a* (circ. A.D. 1850, apparently transcribed from the preceding MS.), probably also **Aṣafiyah** ii p. 848 no. 41 ("Sawānīḥ i Asadī" by Asad Bēg Firdausī [*sic*, Firdausī being presumably a misprint for Qazwīnī] composed in 1010, perhaps a misprint for 1015).

English translation by B. W. Chapman: **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,776, foll. 33-84.

Description, summary and 19 pp. of extracts from Chapman's translation: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 150-74.

[*Haft iqlīm* no. 1271; 'Abd al-Nabī *Mai-khānah* pp. 554-5; *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 118); *Safīnah i Khwushqū* (Bodleian 376 no. 422 (and 685 "Asadbeg, with the takhalluṣ Asad of Tūrān" ?); *Riyāḍ al-shu'arā'*; *Ātash-kadah* no. 514; *Makhzan al-qharā'ib* no. 106; *Mir'āt i āftāb-numā*; *Sham' i anjuman* 67-8; Elliot and Dowson *loc. cit.*; Rieu iii 979*b*.]

713. Maulawī S. **Amīr Haidar** "Amīr" Ḥusainī Wāsiṭī **Bilgrāmī**, a grandson of Ghulām-'Alī "Āzād" Bilgrāmī (author of the *tadhkirah* entitled *Khizānah i āmirah* and of other works),



was the author of (1) *Tahqīq al-iṣṭilāḥāt* (a chronogram = 1189/1775), a glossary of rare words <sup>1</sup> (see Rieu iii 1070b), (2) *Muntakhab al-naḥw*, a Persian syntax written A.H. 1214/1799–1800 (see Rieu ii 857b), (3) *Muntakhab al-ṣarf*, on the formation of Arabic words used in Persian (see Rieu ii 857b, extracts were published by M. J. Rowlandson in Part ii of *An analysis of Arabic quotations which occur in the Gulistan of Muslih-ud-deen Sheikh Sadi* (Madras 1828°)), (4) a Persian work of which an English translation was published under the title *Dissertation concerning the Revenues of Government, and of landed Tenures according to the Mohammedan Law in The Oriental Miscellany* (Calcutta 1798°), (5) *Ruqa'āt i Haidar* (Āṣafīyah i p. 124 no. 129).

According to "Afsōs" he was for some years a *muftī* in the service of the East India Company and died in 1217/1802–3, having fallen ill at Murshidābād when accompanying his family as far as Patna on a journey to Bilgrām.

*Sawāniḥ i Akbarī*, a biography, of which vol. i (apparently the only one extant) goes down to the end of the 24th regnal year, A.H. 987/1579–80, based mainly on the *Akbar-nāmah* but also on the four *daftars* of Abū 'l-Faḍl's *Munsha'āt* and other works and written by desire of William Kirkpatrick <sup>2</sup> : **Bānkipūr** vii 556 (A.D. 1854), **Rieu** iii 930a (19th cent.).

English translation of the preface : **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,780, foll. 343–9.

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 193.

["Afsōs" *Ārāyish i mahfil*, in the account of Bilgrām at the end of the description of Oudh ; Garcin de Tassy 1st ed. ii p. 379, 2nd ed. i p. 259 (an extract from the *Ārāyish i mahfil*.)]

714. **M. Hafiz**, a resident of Jāland'har ("Jullundur"), left that town on account of Sik'h disturbances.

*Nāfi' al-tālibīn*, a life of Akbar written at the request of Ḥaḍrat Rūḥ al-Amīn Jīw, based on the *Akbar-nāmah*, the

<sup>1</sup> The author's autobiography, which, as stated at the end, was to form an appendix to the work, is missing from the B.M. MS. (Rieu iii 1070b).

<sup>2</sup> For whom see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography*.



*Jahāngīr-nāmah*, the '*Ālamgīr-nāmah* and other histories, completed in 1184/1770-1, revised in 1230/1815, and containing in the second of its three *ḥiṣṣahs* a commentary on difficult passages in the *Inshā' i Abū 'l-Faḍl*: Lahore Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1256/1840. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (Aug. 1926) p. 51).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (c) THE TIMŪRIDS

### (5) JAHĀNGĪR

715. M. Salīm, the eldest son of Akbar and Rājah Bihārī Mal's daughter, was born at Fathpūr-Sikrī on 17 Rabī' i 977/ 31 Aug. 1569. He succeeded his father on 20 Jumādā ii 1014/ 24 Oct. 1605 at the age of 38, and adopted the title of Abū 'l-Muzaffar Nūr al-Dīn M. **Jahāngīr** Pādshāh. In 1020/1611 he married Mihr al-Nisā' (afterwards entitled Nūr-Maḥall and later Nūr-Jahān), the daughter of Ghiyāth Bēg afterwards entitled I'timād al-Daulah. He died on 28 Ṣafar 1037/7 Nov. 1627 and was buried at Shāhdarah near Lahore.

*Jahāngīr-nāmah*<sup>1</sup> or (*Tūzūk i Jahāngīrī*), the Emperor's memoirs, existing in three forms,<sup>2</sup> the first two apparently authentic and the third, which is confused, lacking in dates and marked by exaggerations and irrelevant digressions, more or less garbled (see de Sacy's discussion in the *Journal des savants*, 1830, pp. 359 foll. and 430 foll.):

I The earliest version<sup>3</sup> of the memoirs written in the 3rd year of the reign (beginning *Ḥamd i bī-ghāyat u shukr i bī-nihāyat*

<sup>1</sup> This is the title given to the work in the account of the 13th year (pp. 235<sup>19</sup>, 239<sup>7</sup>) and in the preface to the *Ma'āthir i Jahāngīrī*. Various other titles have been given to it, e.g. *Tārīkh i Salīm-Shāhī*, *Tārīkh i Salīmī*, *Wāqī'āt i Jahāngīrī*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The classification given below is only provisional, since the manuscripts have not all been carefully examined or adequately described.

<sup>3</sup> This "shorter redaction of the spurious memoirs", as Ethé calls it, agrees generally, according to Rieu, with the earlier part of the "garbled" or "spurious" memoirs, which are apparently an amplification and extension of it.



*mubdi'ī rā*<sup>1</sup>) : **Bānkipūr** vii 557 (written at **Ḥaidarābād** A.H. 1020/1611 (note this very early date), **Aumer** 259 (1) (?) (A.H. 1138/1726), **Ethé** 309 (A.H. 1194/1780), **Berlin** 486 (A.H. 1199/1784-5), **Bodleian** 222 (A.H. 1225/1810), **Rieu** iii 932a (A.H. 1239/1824).

II The "authentic" memoirs (beg. *Az 'ināyāt i bī-ghāyāt i ilāhī*) written by the Emperor himself from his accession firstly to the end of the twelfth regnal year (after which copies were bound and distributed to relations and officials) then to the 17th year, after which they were continued, under his supervision, by Mu'tamad **Khān** (for whom see p. 560 *infra*) to the beginning of the 19th year, and finally re-edited in the time of Muḥammad **Shāh** by M. **Hādī**, who added an introduction (beginning *Ḥamd u thanā-yi bī mar u ḥadd*) dealing with Jahāngīr's pre-regnal life and a continuation to the end of his reign : **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (the first twelve years. A copy bearing the seals of Jahāngīr and **Shāh-Jahān**. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (August 1926) pp. 51-2), **Ross and Browne** 9 (breaks off about half-way through the work. Bears a seal dated 1040/1630-1), **Ethé** 305 (to beginning of 19th year. N.d.), 306 (to beginning of 19th year. N.d.), 307 (defective, extending to beginning of 10th year. N.d.), 308 (ends as no. 307. A.D. 1835), 2833 (with M. **Hādī**'s continuation. Written after collating different MSS. by S. M. **Khān** Dihlawī A.D. 1843. Ornate copy), **Rieu** i 253b (to end of 12th year. 17th cent.), Suppt. 77 (breaks off in middle of 13th year. 17th cent.), iii 930b (with M. **Hādī**'s continuation. 1 PICTURE. A.H. 1241/1825), 931a (with M. **Hādī**'s continuation. 18th cent.), 931a (with M. **Hādī**'s continuation. 18th cent.), 931a (extracts. Circ. 1850), 931a i (Or. 1648 foll. 35-181. The first twelve years in a shorter recension. Early 19th cent.), 931a ii (Or. 1648 foll. 202-296. Passages from the fuller recension. Early 19th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 159 no. 938 (with M. **Hādī**'s continuation. Circ. A.D. 1700), **Bodleian** 219 (to 23 *Rabī' i* A.H. 1027/1618, the 14th year. A.H. 1118/1706), 220

<sup>1</sup> These are the opening words of the garbled memoirs also. For the opening and closing words of this earliest version see Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi n. 264.



(ends at same point), 221 (with M. Hādī's continuation. Completed A.D. 1846 by S. Aḥmad Khān (for whom see p. 483 *supra*) on the basis of 10 good MSS. belonging to Bahādur Shāh's libraries). **Browne** Pers. Cat. 94 (to end of 12th year. N.d.), 95 (to end of 12th year. A.H. 1139/1726), Spt. 333 (A.H. 1232/1816-17), 334 (King's 88), **Bloch** 579 (to end of 12th year. A.H. 1196/1781), **R.A.S.** P. 124 = Morley 120 (with M. Hādī's continuation. A.H. 1231/1815), **Ivanow** 142 (to the 19th year. A.H. 1253/1837), 144 (with M. Hādī's continuation. 19th cent.), Curzon 27 (mid 19th cent.)

It is not clear from the catalogue whether the copies of the "*Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī*" mentioned in Āṣafīyah i p. 234 nos. 234 and 632 are the authentic or the "spurious" memoirs. There is a *Tārīkh i Jahāngīr-Shāhī* mentioned in Semenov's catalogue of the historical MSS. in the Central Library at Bukhārā, p. 8 no. 14.

Editions : (1) *Toozuk-i-Jehangeeree* [with M. Hādī's continuation] . . . Edited by Syud Aḥmad [for whom see p. 483 *supra*], **Ghāzipūr** and (preface etc.) 'Aligarh 1863-4\*, (2) **Lucknow** 1914\*.

Extracts : *Muntakhabāt i Tūzuk i Jahāngīrī*, **Lahore** 1884†.

Extracts with translation by J. Anderson : *Asiatic Miscellany*, Calcutta 1786\*, ii pp. 70-85 and 172.

Extracts with translation by F. Gladwin : Gladwin *History of Hindostan*, Calcutta 1788, i p. 96 foll.

English translations : (1) *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī translated . . . by W. H. Lowe*. [One fasciculus only], **Calcutta** 1889\* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), (2) *The Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī, or Memoirs of Jahāngīr* [without M. Hādī's continuation]. Translated by A. Rogers . . . Edited by H. Beveridge. 2 vols. **London** 1909-14\* (Oriental Translation Fund, N.S. xix, xxii), (3) by W. Erskine (first nine years only) : **B.M.** MS. Add. 26,611.

Description and translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 276-391.

Description and extracts from M. Hādī's continuation : Elliot and Dowson vi pp. 392-9.



III The "garbled" memoirs (beginning : *Ḥamd i bī-ghāyat u shukr i bī-nihāyat mubdi'ī rā*, to which some verses beginning *Ai nām i tū sar-daftar i asrār i wujūd* are normally prefixed), apparently an amplification and extension of the earliest version (no. I above) and possibly, as Rieu suggests, written in the early part of Shāh-Jahān's reign with a view to superseding the genuine memoirs, which contain many passages reflecting of Shāh-Jahān. (Most of the MSS. contain at the end a *Pand-nāmah*, or collection of moral precepts, ascribed to Jahāngīr with a prologue by I'timād al-Daulah) : **R.A.S.** P. 122 = Morley 117 (ending with a number of letters, petitions etc. belonging to Jahāngīr's later years. A.H. 1040/1630), P. 123 = Morley 119, P. 114 (2) = Morley 118 (the MS. from which Price made his translation), **Mashhad** iii p. 89 (defective at beginning. Probably the "garbled" memoirs. A.H. 1046/1636-7), **Rieu** i 254b (with a continuation not found in Price's translation. Breaks off in prologue to the *Pand-nāmah*. 17th cent.), 255a (1 PICTURE. 19th cent.), iii 931b (circ. A.D. 1850), **Lālā Ismā'il** 337 = Tauer 550 (11th/17th cent.), **Edinburgh** 211 (A.H. 1127/1716), 212 (about same date?), **Ethé** 310 (A.H. 1154/1742), 311 (circ. A.D. 1802-3), **I.O. D.P.** 775 (19th cent.), **Ridā Pāshā** 16 = Tauer 551 (12th/18th cent.), **Ivanow** 143 (A.H. 1202/1787-8), **Aumer** 258 (18th cent.), **Blochét** i 580 (late 18th cent.), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (one copy dated A.H. 1262/1846 and one of an abridgment dated A.H. 1242/1826), **Bānkipūr** vii 558 (with the continuation not found in Price's translation. 19th cent.), **Būhār** 67 (19th cent.), 68 (19th cent.), **Browne** Suppt. 366 (Trinity R. 13. 67).

For a separate copy of the *Pand-nāmah i Jahāngīrī* see Ross and Browne 150 (ii) (A.H. 1124/1712-13).

English translation : *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangueir . . . translated . . . by Major D. Price*, **London** 1829°\* (Oriental Translation Fund), **Calcutta** 1904° [a reprint with introduction and index].

Description and a translated extract (in both Elliot's and Price's versions) : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 256-75.



Translation of the *Pand-nāmah*: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 493-516.

716. **Wali Sirhindī**, called Khwājah-zādah, was in the service of Jahāngīr and was more than 46 years old in the fourteenth year of the reign when he wrote his *Tawārīkh i Jahāngīr-Shāhī* and dedicated it to his sovereign.

*Tawārīkh i Jahāngīr-Shāhī*, or *Farhang i badī' al-lughāt i Jahāngīrī* (?), a brief chronicle of the first fourteen years of Jahāngīr's reign: **Bodleian** 231 (foll. 389b-421a. Autograph).

717. **M. Sharīf**<sup>1</sup> b. Dōst-Muḥammad,<sup>2</sup> a member of an undistinguished Persian family, received the title of **Mu'tamad Khān** in the third year of Jahāngīr's reign, and was for a time *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥadīs*. Subsequently he was *Bakhshī* to Prince **Khurram**'s army in the Deccan. In the seventeenth year of the reign, A.H. 1031/1622, after returning from the Deccan, he was ordered by Jahāngīr, then in bad health, to continue his *Memoirs* (see the *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* tr. Rogers and Beveridge vol. ii p. 246). In the second year of **Shāh-Jahān**'s reign he became Second *Bakhshī* and in the tenth *Mīr Bakhshī*. In the thirteenth (A.H. 1049/1639-40) he died.

An account of **Shāh-Jahān**'s life until his accession, *Aḥwāl i shāh-zādagī i Shāh-Jahān*, which is extant in three recorded MSS. (**Bānkīpūr** vii 565 (1), **Rieu** Suppt. 76 ii, **Būhār** 74 i), is ascribed in "endorsements" to "Mu'tamad **Khān**", by which title the author of the *Iqbāl-nāmah* is doubtless meant, but the correctness of this ascription is doubted by **Rieu** on the ground that, whereas in the *Iqbāl-nāmah* Mu'tamad **Khān** refers to himself by such phrases as "the present writer", the author of this work speaks of Mu'tamad **Khān** by name in the corresponding passages.

<sup>1</sup> He is to be distinguished from **Sharīf Khān**, who was *Amīr al-umarā'* in the early years of Jahāngīr's reign and who died in 1021/1612.

<sup>2</sup> **Ibn Dōst-M. M. Sharīf al-mukhāṭab bi-Mu'tamad Khān**, according to **Berlin** 490, fol. 4a, l. 6 *ab infra* (see **Pertsch**'s catalogue p. 470 n. 1). **Bānkīpūr** vii p. 60 *ult.*



*Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī*,<sup>1</sup> completed, according to the preface, in Kashmīr A.H. 1029/1619–20, the fifteenth regnal year (but the narrative is brought down to Jahāngīr's death), a history in three volumes ((1) Bābur and Humāyūn, (2) Akbar, (3) Jahāngīr, of which the third is common, the first two rare), based mainly on the *Akbar-nāmah*, the *Tabaqāt i Akbarī*, Khwājah 'Atā [so Bānkīpūr vii p. 61, but read Asad ?] Bēg Qazwīnī's history of [a small part of] Akbar's reign (see p. 554 *supra*), and Jahāngīr's own Memoirs : **Bānkīpūr** vii 560–1 (vols. i–ii. A.H. 1045/1635–6. The preface of this copy contains no mention of a third volume), 559 (vols. i–iii, slightly defective. 18th cent.), 562 (vol. iii. A.H. 12—(?)), Suppt. 1765 (vols. i and iii. A.H. 1207/1792–3), 1766 (vol. iii. 18th cent.), **Bloch** i 581 (vols. i–iii, lacking last chapter. Mid 17th cent.), 582 (vol. i. Latter half of 17th cent.), 583 (vol. ii. A.H. 1049/1639), 584 (vol. iii. A.H. 1204/1789), 585 (vol. iii. A.H. 1160/1747), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 96 (vol. iii. A.H. 1143/1730–1), 97 (vol. iii, defective. N.d.), Suppt. 75 (vol. iii. A.H. 1219/1804. Christ's Dd. 3. 17), 76 (vol. iii. A.H. 1231/1816. Corpus 207), 77 (vol. i. A.D. 1063/1653. Vol. ii. A.H. 1086/1675–6. King's 33), **Ethé** 312 (vols. i–ii. A.H. 1087/1676 (?)), 313 (vol. ii, pt. 2 (from middle of Akbar's 28th year to his death. A.H. 1064/1654), 314 (vol. iii. A.H. 1071/1660), 315–24 (ten copies of vol. iii, 324 being misdescribed by Ethé<sup>2</sup>), **I.O.** D.P. 621 B (Vol. iii, defective), 621 C (Vol. iii. A.H. 1228/1813), **Mehren** 57 (Vol. iii. A.H. 1071/1661), **Rieu** i 255a (vol. iii. A.H. 1074/1664), 255b (vol. iii. 17th cent.), 256a–256b (five 18th-century copies of vol. iii, one containing nine PICTURES), 256b (three 19th-century copies of vol. iii), ii 819b (A.D. 1819), iii 922b (vol. i. A.H. 1104–5/1693), 923a (vol. ii. 18th cent.), 923a (part of vol. ii (to Akbar's 17th year). 17th cent.), 923b (vol. iii. A.H. 1103/1692), iii 1030b (extracts), **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. p. 56 (Vol. ii. 54 PICTURES, of which a list is given and three are reproduced in the catalogue), p. 63 (fragments of Vols. i and ii. Late 17th cent.), **Bodleian** 224 (vol. iii. A.H. 1095/1684), 225 (vol. iii. A.H. 1106/1695), 226–30 (five more copies of vol. iii),

<sup>1</sup> Often called the *Jahāngīr-nāmah*.

<sup>2</sup> According to Beveridge (see *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, preface, p. xv, postscript)



**Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A. ii. 19 (vol. iii), **Vollers** 981 (vol. iii), 982 (vol. iii apparently. A.H. 1101/1689-90), **Berlin** 487 (vols. i-iii), 488 (vols. i-ii. A.H. 1209/1794), 489 (vol. iii. A.H. 1111/1699), 490 (vol. iii. A.H. 1151/1738), **Būhār** 66 (vol. ii. A.D. 1719 (?)), **Aumer** 257 (vols. i-iii. N.d.), 259 (2) (vol. iii. A.H. 1138/1725-6), 260 (vol. iii. Early 12th cent. H.), **R.A.S. P.** 125 = Morley 121 (vol. iii. A.H. 1145/1732), **Edinburgh** 80 (vol. iii. A.H. 1189/1775-6), 213 (vol. iii. Not later than A.H. 1150/1737), **Ivanow** 145-8 (four copies of vol. iii, one dated A.H. 1151/1738-9), Curzon 28 (vol. iii. 18th cent.), 1st Suppt. 759 (vol. iii. A.H. 1227/1812), **Lindesiana** p. 199 no. 373 (vol. iii (?). Circ. 1780), no. 923 (A.H. 1241/1825-6), '**Aligarh** Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 60 no. 21, **Āṣafiyah** i p. 218 nos. 233, 490, 572 (vols. not specified), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (vol. iii. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (August 1926), p. 52, **Madras, T.C.D.** 1579 (see the *Memoirs of Jahangir*, vol. ii, p. vi, note, where Beveridge says that this MS. is only a modern copy of the *Iqbāl-nāmah*).

Editions: **Calcutta** 1865°\* (vol. iii only. Ed. 'Abd al-Ḥaiy and Aḥmad 'Alī. Bibliotheca Indica), **Lucknow** 1870°\* (vols. i-iii), 1890° (vol. iii only. Title: *Jahāngīr-nāmah*. Author's name given in the publisher's colophon as **Khawājah Abū 'l-Ḥasan**<sup>1</sup>), **Allahabad** 1931\* (vol. iii only).

Description and 37 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *Hist. of India* vi 400-38.

English translation by J. Macmurdo (b. 1785, d. 1820): **I.O.** MSS. Eur. F. 26 (according to G. R. Kaye, "The extracts given by Elliot, possibly from a different work, differ considerably from our manuscript").

[*Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī* iii pp. 91<sup>7</sup>, 104<sup>1</sup>, 187<sup>12</sup>, and doubtless elsewhere; *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* tr. Rogers and Beveridge i 300, ii 1, 2, 100-1, 128, 129, 131-2, 158, 175, 193, 235, 246; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd *Pādshāh-nāmah* i 73 etc., ii p. 102 etc. (see the indexes to both volumes in the Bibliotheca Indica); *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*

<sup>1</sup> In the B.M. catalogue consequently this edition is entered under Abū 'l-Ḥasan, *Khawājah*.



iii 431-4 (two short extracts from this notice are translated in Elliot and Dowson viii p. 191); *Tadhkirat al-umarā'*; Elliot and Dowson vi p. 400; *Ency. Isl.* under Mu'tamad Khān.]

718. Khawājah Kāmgār Husainī, originally in the service of Jahāngīr, took part in the campaign of his uncle 'Abd Allāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang against the rebel Khān-Jahān Lōdī (for whom see *Ency. Isl.* ii 898) and took the latter's head to Shāh-Jahān in the fourth year of his reign, A.H. 1040/1631, receiving as a reward the title of Ghairat Khān. In Shāh-Jahān's tenth year he was appointed Nāzim of the Ṣūbah of Delhi, but in 1049/1639, when the new buildings of Shāhjahanābād were just rising from their foundations under his superintendence, he was transferred to the Ṣūbahdārī of Tattah, where he died in 1050/1640-1.

*Ma'āthir i Jahāngīrī*, completed A.H. 1040/1630 in Shāh-Jahān's third regnal year, a history of the early life and reign of Jahāngīr, regarded by Khāfi Khān as more veracious than the *Iqbāl-nāmah*: **Bānkipūr** vii 563 (17th cent.), **Brelvi and Dhabhar** p. xiii (A.H. 1137/1724-5), **Rehatsek** p. 76 no. 12 (defective at beginning. N.d.), **Rieu** i 257a (A.H. 1148/1735. Written by M. b. Rustam (see p. 141 *supra*), 257b (imperfect. 18th cent.), iii 932a (frequent variations in the text. A.H. 1264/1848), **I.O. D.P.** 743 (A.H. 1223/1808) [Ethé 324, erroneously described as the *Ma'āthir i Jahāngīrī*, is the *Iqbāl-nāmah*. See p. 561 *supra*], **Bodleian** 223, **Eton** 186.

Description and two translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi 439-45.

[*Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 863-5; *Tadhkirat al-umarā'*; Elliot and Dowson vi 439-41; **Rieu** i 257a.]

719. Mullā "Kāmī" Shirāzī.<sup>1</sup>

*Waqā'i' al-zamān*, or *Fath-nāmah i Nūr-Jahān Bēgam*, a *mathnawī* on events towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether Blochet has good authority for ascribing the *Waqā'i' al-zamān* to this poet, since, according to him, in both of the manuscripts the author's name has disappeared in a lacuna. "Kāmī" Shirāzī is not mentioned in the *Iqbāl-nāmah* among the poets of Jahāngīr's reign, nor does he seem to be noticed in the *tadhkirahs*.



(especially “ la lutte entre l’empereur timouride, Mohabat [sic] Khan, Asaf Khan, laquelle fut provoquée par les intrigues de sa femme, Nour Djihan Bégoum, qui avait fait choisir Khourram, son troisième fils, comme prince héritier ”) composed at Kābul in 1035/1625–6 and dedicated to Jahāngīr: Blochet iii 1874 (circ. A.D. 1626), 1875 (late 17th cent.).

720. One of the Elliot MSS. of the *Jahāngīr-nāmah* (Or. 1648. Rieu iii p. 931a. Early 19th cent.) contains on foll. 181b–201b “ detached notices and anecdotes relating to various periods of Jahāngīr’s reign ” including some quotations from the *Jahāngīr-nāmah* and following no chronological order. They begin with the words “ *az intikhāb i Jahāngīr-Shāhī nawishtah mī-shawad* ”, and contain internal evidence that the author was a contemporary and companion of Jahāngīr. That they belong to a larger work is clear from the fact that “ the author speaks of his having related, in another part of the volume, a detailed account of the proceedings of Bikramājīt and of ’Usmān in Bengal ; and neither of these passages occurs in these extracts ”.

*Intikhāb i Jahāngīr-Shāhī* (?) : see description above.

Description and 5½ pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 446–52.

721. For the *Shash fath i Kāngrah* of Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā’ī see p. 566 *infra*.

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (c) THE TĪMŪRIDS

### (6) SHĀH-JAHĀN

722. The author of the *Aḥwāl i shāh-zādagī i Shāh-Jahān* does not mention his name in the text, but “ endorsements ” (apparently on all the three recorded MSS.) ascribe the work to Mu’tamad Khān. The person intended is doubtless the author of the *Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī* (see p. 560 *supra*), but the correctness of the ascription is doubted by Rieu on the ground that, whereas in the *Iqbāl-nāmah* Mu’tamad Khān refers to himself by such phrases as “ the present writer ”, the author of



the *Aḥwāl i shāh-zādagī i Shāh-Jahān* speaks of Mu'tamad Khān by name in the corresponding passages.

(*Aḥwāl i shāh-zādagī i Shāh-Jahān*), an account of Shāh-Jahān's life until his accession in 1037/1628: **Bānkipūr** vii 565 (1) (44th year of 'Ālamgīr), **Rieu** Suppt. 76 ii (18th cent.), **Būhār** 74 i (A.H. 1235/1819-20).

723. Mīrzā M. **Jalāl** [al-Dīn], or Jalālā, **Ṭabāṭabā'i** Zawārī<sup>1</sup> Iṣfahānī went to India in 1044/1634-5, and, having been appointed one of Shāh-Jahān's court chroniclers, wrote an account of five<sup>2</sup> years of the reign, but owing to the envy of rivals he had to discontinue this work. In 1062/1652, according to his own statement, he began to translate from the Arabic for Prince Murād-Bakhsh the work known as *Tauqī'āt i Kisrawī*, or, chronogrammatically, *Dastūr-nāmah i Kisrawī*, a collection of answers alleged to have been given by Khusrāu Anūshirwān to ministers of his who questioned him concerning matters of administration or other subjects [Arabic text unknown (?). MSS. of Persian translation: Bodleian 1470, Browne Suppt. 335-7, 488. Editions: Khudā'i Press [Lucknow] 1261/1845\*, Nawal Kishōr [Lucknow] 1287/1870\*, Nawal Kishōr [Cawnpore] 1874\*, Cawnpore 1886°, Lucknow 1892°\* (*The Wisdom of Naushirwan "the Just" . . . commonly called Tauqiyat i Kisrawiya*. With transliteration and English translation by W. Young). According to the *Tadhkirah i Ṭāhir i Naṣrābādī* he died some years (*chānd sāl*) before the composition of that work (which was begun in 1083/1672-3, but added to in 1089/1678-9 and 1092/1681). He was regarded as the master of a new style of Persian composition.<sup>3</sup> For collections of letters and other pieces by him see Rieu iii 933a, Āṣafīyah i p. 132 no. 20, and Lindesiana p. 161 no. 425.

(1) (*Pādshāh-nāmah* or *Shāh-Jahān-nāmah*), a prolix account of the 5th-8th solar years of Shāh-Jahān's reign (i.e. 28

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of this *nisbah* see p. 14 *supra*, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen below that the B.M. MS. at any rate does not contain five full years.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the statement of Diyā' al-Dīn Khān, cited by Rieu (iii 933b), that none but Sh. Abū 'l-Faḍl ever wrote history with equal elegance.



Sha'bān 1041/20 March 1632 to 11 Shawwāl 1045/19 March 1636) : **Āṣafīyah** i p. 244 no. 359 (A.H. 1187/1773-4), **Lindesiana** p. 161 no. 410 (circ. A.D. 1800), **Rieu** iii 933*a* (A.H. 1216/1801), 1035*b* (a notice of the work with extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1048*b* (a notice of the work), **I.O.** D.P. 684 (early 19th cent. This is the MS. referred to by W. N. Lees in *JRAS.* 1868 p. 463).

(2) (*Shash fath i Kāngrah*), six stylistically different accounts of the expedition sent by Shāh-Jahān, when governor of Gujrāt, and commanded by Rājah Bikramājīt, against the rebel Sūraj-Mal in Jahāngīr's 13th year A.H. 1027/1618 and the capture of the fort of Kāngrah (in the Panjāb below the Himālayas) : **Lindesiana** p. 161 no. 879 (circ. A.D. 1750), **Bānkipūr** Suppt. ii 2198 (A.H. 1195/1781), **I.O.** D.P. 498 foll. 402-29 (24th year of Shāh-'Ālam, i.e. 1196/1782), D.P. 686 A (A.H. 1240/1824-5), 686 B, **Rieu** i 258*a* (A.D. 1829-30), iii 932*b* (19th cent.), 932*b* (19th cent.), 933*a* (circ. A.D. 1850), **Ivanow** Curzon 29 (A.H. 1257/1841), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 52).

Descriptions and partial translations : (1) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vi pp. 517-31 (the whole of the first account is translated and the beginnings of the other five), (2) *The Zafarnāma-i-Kāngrā, or an account of the conquest of Kāngrā during the reign of Jahāngīr. By Raza Husain* (in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, vol. ii (1919) pp. 56-62).

[*Amal i Šālīḥ*, near the end ; *Tadhkirah i Tāhir i Naṣrābādī* i pp. 102-3 ; **Rieu** i 258*a*.]

724. Mīrzā **M. Amīn** b. Abī 'l-Husain **Qazwīnī**, usually called **Amīnā i Qazwīnī**, a Persian by birth, entered the service of Shāh-Jahān as a *munshī* in the fifth year of his reign, and in the eighth year (A.H. 1045/1635-6) was appointed Historiographer with orders to prepare a history of the first ten years of the reign. According to the *Mir'āt al-'ālam* (**Rieu** i, 125*b*, fol. 462*b*) he was an eminent calligraphist, but he does not seem to be mentioned in the *Tadhkirah i khwush-nawīsān* of Ghulām-Muḥammad Dihlawī.



*Pādshāh-nāmah*, a history of the first ten years of Shāh-Jahān's reign, with a *muqaddimah* on his life before accession and a *khātimah* on the contemporary *shaikhs*, scholars, physicians and poets : **Edinburgh** 409 (autograph ?), **Rieu** i 258b (17th cent.), 259b (18th cent. 9 good PICTURES), 259b (A.H. 1251/1835), iii 933b (A.H. 1240/1824), 935 (extracts only), **R.A.S.** P. 126 = **Morley** 122 (A.H. 1173/1759), **Bānkīpūr** vii 566 (1) (18th cent. Good PICTURES), **Būhār** 69 (A.H. 1228/1813), **I.O.** D.P. 683 (A.H. 1248/1832-3), **Ivanow** 151 (A.H. 1258/1842), **Bodleian** 236 (? ?), **Windsor Castle** (see *Journal of Indian Art*, vol. v (London 1894), plate 69), possibly also **Bloch** i 590 (18th cent.).

[*ʿAmal i Ṣāliḥ* (quoted **Bānkīpūr** vii p. 72).]

725. Muḥammad-Qulī “**Salīm**” **Ṭīhrānī** was for a time attached to Mīrzā ‘Abd Allāh, Governor of Lāhijān, but subsequently went to India and found a patron in Islām Khān Mashhadī.<sup>1</sup> He died in Kashmīr in 1057/1647. (For further information see the section POETRY.)

(*Ḥang i Islām Khān*<sup>2</sup>), a *mathnawī* on the victories of Islām Khān in Kūch Hājō and Assam<sup>3</sup> : **Ivanow** 748 (6) (early 18th cent.), 749 (18th cent.), 750 (18th cent.), **Bānkīpūr** iii 311 fol. 21b (described as “A Maṣnawī in praise of Spring”. 18th cent.), **Rieu** iii 1032a (circ. A.D. 1850), and doubtless in other MSS. of the *Dīwān* (for which see the section POETRY).

[*Tadhkirah i Ṭāhir i Naṣrābādī* ; *Safīnah i Khwushgū* no. 731 ; *Haft āsmān* pp. 144-5 ; **Bānkīpūr** iii pp. 88-9 and the authorities cited there. See also the section POETRY.]

726. **M. Ṣādiq Dihlawī** is probably identical with M. Ṣādiq Kashmīrī Hamadānī, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt i Shāh-Jahānī*

<sup>1</sup> For Islām Khān see *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* i pp. 162-7. In Shāh-Jahān's eighth year he was appointed Governor of Bengal.

<sup>2</sup> This, according to Ethé, is the title given to the poem in the *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (see Ethé col. 851<sup>6</sup>). In some of the MSS. it seems to be headed [*Mathnawī* ?] *dar fath i Bangālah*.

<sup>3</sup> In 1047/1637 (see ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd *Pādshāh-nāmah* ii 68-90, ‘*Amal i Ṣāliḥ* ii 286-8).



(written in 1046/1636–7) and the *Kalimāt al-ṣādiqīn* (completed in 1023/1614. See *Bānkīpūr* viii no. 671).

*Āthār i Shāh-Jahānī* or *Akḥbār i Jahāngīrī*, dedicated to Shāh-Jahān, and divided into a *muqaddimah* (on kingship), a *matlaʿ* (on Shāh-Jahān's ancestors), a *maqṣad* (anecdotes of prophets, caliphs and kings), and a *khātimah* (probably on Shāh-Jahān): *Bānkīpūr* vii 564 (lacking *khātimah*. 18th century), *Browne* Suppt. 23 (King's).

727. Hājji M. Jān <sup>1</sup> “**Qudsi**” Mashhadī was born at Mashhad. Coming to India in 1041/1631 he was patronised by ‘Abd Allāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang and in 1042/1632 presented by him to Shāh-Jahān. He received liberal rewards from Shāh-Jahān, but did not become *Malik al-shuʿarāʾ*,<sup>2</sup> having been forestalled by “**Kalīm**”, who received the title before “**Qudsi**’s” arrival at Shāh-Jahān’s court. He died A.H. 1056/1646 <sup>3</sup> at Lahore,<sup>4</sup> and was buried at Mashhad. According to M. Amīn Qazwīnī <sup>5</sup> (for whom see p. 566 *supra*), “**Qudsi**” and “**Kalīm**” (for whom see p. 572 *infra*) were simultaneously (in 1047/1637–8) engaged in composing poetical records of Shāh-Jahān’s reign.

*Zafar-nāmah i Shāh-Jahānī*, an uncompleted *mathnawī* on the life of Shāh-Jahān: *Browne* 293 (extract only. Bears seal of 1071/1660–1), *Rieu* ii 685 (“confused series of detached fragments.” 17th cent.), iii 1001b (portion only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1048b (“*Iqbāl-nāmah*.” Extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), Suppt. 323 (A.H. 1071/1661), *Būhār* 391 (17th cent.), *Bodleian* 1102 (5) (A.H. 1114/1703), 1106 (defective. 17th cent.), *Bānkīpūr* iii 308 (1) (18th cent. FULL ANALYSIS), *Berlin* 940 (1) (n.d.), *Ethé* 1552 (2) (n.d.), 1553 (2) (detached fragments. Bears a seal of 1155/1742–3), 1554 (extracts only. A.H. 1093/1682), *Ivanow* 745 (extracts only).

<sup>1</sup> Not Khān, as in the *Ency. Isl.*

<sup>2</sup> As is erroneously stated by some authorities, but it is expressly denied by M. Ṣālih.

<sup>3</sup> In 1055/1645 according to some authorities.

<sup>4</sup> In Kashmīr according to other authorities.

<sup>5</sup> *Pādshāh-nāmah*, fol. 431, according to Rieu, who does not make it clear which MS. he is referring to, but evidently the passage occurs in the account of the poets at the end of the work.



[*Ṭabaqāt i Shāh-Jahānī*; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd *Pādshāh-nāmah* i pt. 1, pp. 444, 530, pt. 2, pp. 19, 21, 50, 80, 142, 351-3; 'Amal i Ṣāliḥ, near the end; *Tadhkirah i Tāhir i Naṣrābādī* (Sprenger p. 90); *Mir'āt al-khayāl* pp. 85-8 (Bodleian 374 no. 69. Wrong date given here by a mistake of Ethé's, see Bānkīpūr viii p. 76); *Kalimāt al-shu'arā'* (Sprenger p. 113); *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 128); *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bodleian 376) no. 728; *Yad i baidā'*; *Wāqī'āt i Kashmīr*; *Riyād al-shu'arā'*; *Majma' al-nafā'is*; *Sarw i āzād*; *Khizānah i 'āmīrah* (Bodleian 381) no. 96; *Ātash-kadah* (Bodleian 384) no. 217; *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (Bānkīpūr viii 705, no. 37); *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (Bodleian 391) no. 214; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* (Bodleian 395) no. 2067; *Nishtar i 'ishq*; *Natā'ij al-afkār*; Sprenger p. 536; *Haft āsmān* 143-4; Rieu ii 684; Ethé 1552; *Ency. Isl.* under Kudsī; Portraits in E. B. Havell *Indian sculpture and painting*, 2nd ed., plate lviii, and Būhār 391.]

728. Mīr M. **Yahyā** "Yahyā" or "Kāshī"<sup>1</sup> (perhaps both) **Kāshī**, whose father had migrated from Shīrāz to Kāshān,<sup>2</sup> went to India in the reign of Shāh-Jahān and wrote panegyrics on him and his eldest son Dārā-Shukōh. He was appointed Imperial Librarian (*Kitāb-dār*), and commanded to write in verse a record of the reign, but he afterwards lost the royal favour and discontinued the poem. He died in 1064/1653.<sup>3</sup> His *dīwān* was collected after his death by his friend "Āshnā" (see p. 577 *infra*). A copy is preserved at Bānkīpūr (iii no. 331).

*Pādshāh-nāmah*, a metrical history of Shāh-Jahān's reign: Rieu iii 1001b (a fragment of 45 foll. consisting of panegyrics

<sup>1</sup> In the alphabetically arranged *tadhkirahs* Mīr Yahyā seems always to be placed under Yahyā, which would imply that this was his *takhalluṣ*. 'Abd al-Muqtadir, however, in describing the (unique?) Bānkīpūr MS. of his *dīwān* calls him "Mīr Yahyā, who adopted the poetical title of Kāshī".

<sup>2</sup> In support of this statement 'Abd al-Muqtadir quotes some lines ascribed to Yahyā Kāshī by "Ārzū". If they are really by Yahyā Kāshī, they are decisive enough, but 'Abd al-Muqtadir does not say whether they occur in the *dīwān*.

<sup>3</sup> There is some confusion in several of the *tadhkirahs* between Mīr Yahyā Kāshī and Qādī Yāhyā Lāhijī (Gīlānī), who according to Taqī Kāshī (Sprenger n. 22) died in 953 and according to the *Ātash-kadah* (Bodl. 384 no. 344) in 952



on Shāh-Jahān and florid descriptions of some of his buildings. A.H. 1267/1851).

[‘Abd al-Ḥamīd *Pādshāh-nāmah* ii 758-9; *Tadhkirah i Tāhir i Naṣrābādī* (Sprenger p. 91); *Kalimāt al-shu‘arā’* (Sprenger p. 115); *Yad i baidā’*; *Muntakhab al-ash‘ār* no. 742; *Riyād al-shu‘arā’*; *Majma‘ al-nafā’is*; *Khizānah i ‘āmīrah* (Bodleian 381 no. 134); *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (Bānkīpūr viii 705 no. 58, Bodl. 390 no. 78); *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (Bodl. 391 no. 468); *Makhzan al-gharā’ib* (Bodl. 395 no. 3101); *Haft āsmān* pp. 156-8; Bānkīpūr iii pp. 120-2.]

729. *Hilyah i Shāh-Jahān*, a *mathnawī* of 25 foll. describing the physical features of Shāh-Jahān (beg. *Ilāhī ba-iqbāl u bā farr u shān*): Bānkīpūr iii 325 (20th regnal year [of Shāh-Jahān probably]).

730. Rāy Chandar-bhān “Barahman” or “Barhaman” (both of these forms, but not of course “Brahman”, being used in his *dīwān*), the son of a Brahman named D’haram-Dās, was born at Lahore and was a pupil of the well-known divine ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkōṭī (for whom see the I.O. catalogue of Arabic MSS., vol. ii no. 1122, Brockelmann i 417 and Sptbd ii pp. 613-14). He became secretary to Afḍal Khān (Mullā Shukr Allāh Shīrāzī, who was appointed *Mīr-Sāmān* in Shāh-Jahān’s first year, A.H. 1037/1628, and *Dīwān i Kull* in the second year, and who died in 1048/1639. See *Ma‘āthir al-umarā’* i 145-51). After Afḍal Khān’s death (but not immediately after, since according to Rieu iii 935b, evidently on the authority of the *Chār chaman*, his first introduction to Court took place in Sirhind, when Shāh-Jahān was preparing for the conquest of Badakhshān (A.H. 1055)) he was appointed *Wāqī‘ah-nawīs i Hudūr*, his duty being to attend Shāh-Jahān on his journeys and to record the daily occurrences of his court (Rieu i 397b, again apparently on the authority of the *Chār chaman*, written shortly after 1057). It must have been later than this that, as Khāfī Khān relates (i, p. 740<sup>10</sup>), he entered Dārā-Shukōh’s service with the Emperor’s consent. After a time (apparently in 1066/1655-6, the year under which Khāfī Khān mentions the occurrence) he was taken



from Dārā-Shukōh and given employment in the *Dār al-Inshā'* with the title of Rāy Chāndar-bhān. According to the *Mir'āt al-khayāl* he retired from employment after the death of Dārā-Shukōh<sup>1</sup> (in 1069/1659), went to Benares and died there in 1073/1662-3. According to the *Mir'āt i jahān-numā* (cited Rieu iii 1087a ad 397b) he died in 1068/1657-8.

He was distinguished both as a poet and as a prose-writer. For his *dīwān* see Āṣafīyah i p. 718 no. 453, Bodleian 1123, Brelvi and Dhabhar p. xxv no. 10, Browne Suppt. 517, Ethé 1574-5, Ross and Browne 258 (4), Ivanow 762-3, Ivanow Curzon 740, Lindesiana p. 129 nos. 84 and 640, Rehatsek p. 98 no. 50, Sprenger no. 168. A mystical *mathnawī* of his was published in a *Majmū'ah i rasā'il* at Lucknow in 1877°. An edition of his *Munsha'āt* or *Inshā'*, letters to Shāh-Jahān and others, was published at [Lucknow] in 1885°. For MSS. see Āṣafīyah i p. 114 no. 60, Bodleian 1385-6, Ethé 2094, ii 3047, Berlin 1070, 'Aligarh Subh. MSS. p. 53 no. 9, Rieu i 397. A Vēdāntic work, *Nāzuk khayālāt*, translated by Chāndarbhān from the *Ātma-vilāsa* ascribed to Shankara Āchārya, was published at Lahore in [1901°]. He also translated from Hindi into Persian Dārā-Shukōh's questions concerning Hindu beliefs and customs and the answers to them (Berlin 1081 (2)).

*Chār chaman i Barahman* written soon after 1057/1647<sup>2</sup> and divided into four *chamans* ((1) descriptions of various festivals at Court with poems recited by the author at them, (2) the daily occupations of Shāh-Jahān, his capital Shāhjahanābād etc., (3) the author's life and some of his letters, (4) moral and religious reflections) : Rieu ii 838b (A.H. 1123/1711), iii 935b (A.D. 1849), Brelvi and Dhabhar p. 60 no. 8 (1) (A.H. 1186/1772-3), Ethé 2093 (A.H. 1193/1779), ii 3047, I.O. 3760 foll. 132-70 (*Qawā'id al-saltanat i Shāh-Jahān*), Eton 54 (? *Qawā'id al-saltanat*, finished 1196), Browne Suppt. 376 (n.d. Corpus 94), Madras (*Qawā'id al-saltanat i Shāh-Jahān*. Author not stated. 2 copies).

<sup>1</sup> It is implied that he was at that time in Dārā-Shukōh's service, but this may be incorrect.

<sup>2</sup> "The work was written shortly after A.H. 1057; the restitution of Balkh to Nazr Muhammad, which took place at that date, is mentioned, fol. 54b, as a recent transaction" (Rieu ii 838b).



Extracts by the author : *Guldastah i Chār chaman i Barahman* (beg. : *Gauhar-afshānī i saḥāb i qalam*) : 'Aligarh Subh. MSS. p. 53 no. 22 (A.H. 1146/1733-4), **Brelvi and Dhabhar** p. 60 no. 8 (2) (A.H. 1186), **Rosen** Inst. 23 (3).

Extract with English translation : *Kowāyid us Sultānet Shahjehan, or Rules observed during the reign of Shahjehan* (in F. Gladwin *The Persian Moonshee*, **Calcutta** 1795°, London 1801°\*).

[*Chahār chaman i Barahman*, *Chaman* iii ; 'Amal i Ṣāliḥ ; *Kalimāt al-shu'arā'* (Sprenger p. 110) ; *Mir'āt al-khayāl* pp. 139-40 (Bodleian 374 no. 78) ; *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 119) ; *Muntakhab al-lubāb* i 740<sup>10</sup> ; *Muntakhab al-ash'ār* no. 107 ; *Riyād al-shu'arā'* ; *Gul i ra'nā* ; *Farḥat al-nāẓirīn* (passage quoted in *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. iv no. 4 (Lahore, August 1928) p. 89) ; *Ṣuḥuf i Ibrāhīm* ; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 404 ; *Tadhkirah i khwush-nawīsān* 55 ; *Riyād al-afkār* (Bānkīpūr Suppt. i p. 51) ; Sprenger 168 ; Rieu i 397, ii 838, iii 937, 1087a ad 397 ; *Oriental College Magazine* vol. iv no. 4 (Lahore, August 1928) pp. 2-12 (an article by S. M. 'Abd Allāh).]

731. Mirzā Abū Tālib " **Kalīm** " Hamadānī (by birth) Kāshānī (by a period of residence) went to India first in Jahāngīr's reign. He became Shāh-Jahān's favourite poet and received from him the title of *Malik al-shu'arā'*. According to M. Amīn Qazwīnī (for whom see p. 566 *supra*) he and " Qudsī " (for whom see p. 568) were simultaneously (in 1047/1637-8) engaged in composing poetical records of Shāh-Jahān's reign. Having been sent to Kashmīr to prosecute this task, he died there on 15 Dhū 'l-Hijjah in the 26th year of the reign, A.H. 1062/1652.<sup>1</sup>

An edition of his *dīwān* (H. **Kh.** iii p. 304) was published at Cawnpore in 1879°.

(1) *Pādshāh-nāmah*, or *Shāh-nāmah* or *Shāhanshāh-nāmah* or *Shāh-Jahān-nāmah*, an uncompleted account of Shāh-Jahān's reign in *mathnawī* verse : Sprenger 305 (Mōtī Mahall), **Rawān Köshkü** 1521 (1) = Tauer 552 (full analysis) (A.H. 1071/1660-1),

<sup>1</sup> According to M. Wārith and the *Mir'āt al-khayāl*. The date 1061/1651 is given by several authorities.



**Bānkipūr** iii 316 (ends with Zafar Khān's expedition to Tibet in the tenth year of the reign, A.H 1046-7/1636-7.<sup>1</sup> A.H. 1109/1697), 317 (ends with same expedition. 17th cent.), **Rieu** ii 687 (five fragments (210 foll.). 17th cent.), iii 1048b (extracts only), **Browne** Suppt. 792 (N.d. King's 253), **Ethé** 1570 ("two math-nawīs" (300 foll.)).

Among the poems included in some copies of the *dīwān* is (2) *an account of the flight and pursuit of Jhujhār Sing'h* in mathnawī verse: **Rieu** ii 686a (17th cent.), 686b (18th cent.), **Bānkipūr** iii 314 foll. 147a-159b (19th cent.), **Ivanow** 754.

[Abd al-Hamīd Pādshāh-nāmah i pt. 2, pp. 353-6; 'Amal i Sālih'; Tadhkirah i Tāhir i Naṣrābādī (Sprenger p. 90); Mir'āt al-khayāl pp. 90-1 (Bodleian 374) no. 71; Kalimāt al-shu'arā' (Sprenger p. 113); Hamīshah bahār (Sprenger p. 128); Safīnah i Khwushgū (Bodleian 376) no. 747; Yad i baidā'; Riyād al-shu'arā'; Majma' al-nafā'is; Sarw i āzād; Khizānah i 'āmirah (Bodleian 381) no. 101; Ātash-kadah (Bodleian 384) no. 588; Khulāṣat al-kalām (**Bānkipūr** viii 705, no. 40); Khulāṣat al-afkār (Bodleian 391) no. 223; Makhzan al-qharā'ib (Bodleian 395) no. 2189; Nishtar i 'ishq; Natā'ij al-afkār; Sprenger p. 453; Majma' al-fuṣahā' ii p. 28; **Rieu** ii 687; **Ethé** 1563; **Bānkipūr** iii 314; Shibli Nu'mānī Shī'r al-'Ajam iii pp. 205-230; **Browne** *Lit. Hist.* iv 258-63; *Ency. Isl.* under Kalīm.]

732. In Shāh-Jahān's reign was written

Shāh-Jahān-nāmah, a metrical history of Shāh-Jahān's reign, beginning *Sipās u thanā Izādī rā sazāst*: **Aumer** 262 (332 foll.).

**Rieu** (ii p. 687a) identifies this with "Kalīm's" Shāh-Jahān-nāmah (see p. 572 *supra*), but the opening words are different.

733. **Rashīd Khān** known as ('urf) M. Badī' (so Khāfī Khān i 722), or Rashīd Khān Badī' al-Zamān (so Ma'āthir al-umarā' ii 829<sup>5</sup>), or Badī' al-Zamān Mahābat-Khānī (so **Rieu** i 264b,

<sup>1</sup> According to the Khulāṣat al-kalām (**Bānkipūr** viii, p. 144, no. 40) "Kalīm's" Shāh-nāmah gives a detailed account of ten years of Shāh-Jahān's reign and consists of 14,948 verses.



probably from the *Tadhkirat al-umarā'*), accompanied Dārā-Shukōh on his campaign against Qandahār in 1063/1653, being then *Dīwān* to Mahābat Khān (? *Rashīd Khān* 'urf *M. Badī' kih dar-ān muhim dar khidmat i pādshāh-zādah ham-rāh i Mahābat Khān ta'alluqah i dīwānī dāshat ba-tarīq i waqā'i rūy-dād i muhāṣarah mī-nawisht u ba-'ard i pādshāh-zādah rasāndah in'ām girift u ān tārīkh rā musammā ba-Tārīkh i Qandahār sākhtah*,<sup>1</sup> Khāfī Khān i 722). In the 24th year of Aurangzēb's reign he became *Dīwān i Khālīṣah* (he is called *Daftar-dār i Khālīṣah* in the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 829<sup>5</sup> in a statement referring to the 35th year). He was *Dīwān* to Shāh-'Ālam when he died at Āgrah A.H. 1107/1695-6,<sup>2</sup> more than eighty years old.

*Latā'if al-akhbār*, or *Tārīkh i Qandahārī*, a detailed account of Dārā-Shukōh's unsuccessful siege of Qandahār in 1063/1653: **Ethé** 338 (A.H. 1094/1683 ?), 339 (n.d.), **I.O.** D.P. 609 (A.H. 1241/1826), **Rieu** i 264b (18th cent.), 265a (A.H. 1217/1802), 265a (A.H. 1234/1819), iii 1056a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), Suppt. 78 (slightly defective at end. 17th cent.), **Bānkipūr** vii 567 (17th cent.), **Bodleian** 238 (A.H. 1115/1704 ?), 239 (A.H. 1210/1795), **Bloch** i 593 (19th cent.), 594 (defective at end. Late 18th cent.), **Ivanow** 155 (18th cent.), 156 (19th cent.), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 250 no. 583, **Vollers** 983.

Rough MS. English translation by Major Raverty: **I.O.** MSS. Eur. D. 220.

[*Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (Rieu ii 895) fol. 234b; Khāfī Khān i 722<sup>5-7</sup>; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 829<sup>5-7</sup>; *Tadhkirat al-umarā'*; Rieu i 264, iii 1083b, Suppt. p. 54.]

734. Shāh-Jahān, having heard that 'Abd al-Ḥamid Lāhaurī was a master of the style of composition exemplified in Abū 'l-Faḍl's *Akbar-nāmah*, summoned him from Paṭnah,<sup>3</sup> where he was living in retirement, and asked him to write the official record of the reign. Having completed the account of the first

<sup>1</sup> This is the authority for ascribing the work to Rashīd Khān, who does not mention his name in the text.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (cited by Rieu iii 1083b ad 264b). According to the *Tadhkirat al-umarā'* he died in the 41st year of Aurangzēb.

<sup>3</sup> Or Tattah, see Bānkipūr vii p. 68.



two decades, which was revised by the *Wazir* Sa'd Allāh Khān, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd was compelled by old age to discontinue the work, and the annals of the third decade were written by his pupil and collaborator **M. Wārith** and revised, after Sa'd Allāh Khān's death (A.H. 1066/1656), by 'Alā' al-Mulk Tūnī.<sup>1</sup> 'Abd al-Ḥamīd died in 1065/1654-5, and M. Wārith was killed by a mad student on 10 Rabī' al-awwal 1091/1680 (the latter fact is recorded in the *Ma'āthir i 'Ālamgīrī*. See a translation of the passage in Elliot and Dowson vii p. 121).

*Pādshāh-nāmah*,<sup>2</sup> a history of Shāh-Jahān's reign in three *daftar*s each devoted to a period of ten years (the first *daftar*, "containing nearly the same matter as the *Pādshāh-nāmah* of Muḥammad Amīn" (but omitting the full account of Shāh-Jahān's predecessors and the history of his minority) "differs from it in its wording and its division" (Rieu)): **Ivanow** 149 (vol. ii. Transcribed by M. Ṣāliḥ al-Kātib (i.e. perhaps "Kashfī", for whom see p. 214 *supra*). Bears an autograph note by Shāh-Jahān), **Ivanow** Curzon 30 (vol. ii, slightly defective. 19th cent.), **Rieu** i 260 (vols. i-iii. A.H. 1109/1697), 261a (vol. i. 17th cent.), 261a (vol. i. A.H. 1124/1712), 261a (vol. ii. A.H. 1159/1746), iii 934a (extracts from vol. i. Circ. A.D. 1850), 934a (vol. iii. 17th cent.), 1031a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1844), 1048b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Bloch** i 586-7 (vols. i-ii. 17th cent.), 588 (vol. iii. A.H. 1109/1697), 589 (vol. i. A.H. 1208/1793), 590 (vol. i. A redaction quite different from 586.<sup>3</sup> 18th cent.), 591 (vol. ii. 18th cent.), 592 (vols. ii-iii. Late 18th cent.),

<sup>1</sup> 'Alā' al-Mulk Tūnī was appointed Khān-sāmān in Shāh-Jahān's 19th year (A.H. 1055-6/1645-6), received the title of Fādīl Khān in the 23rd year (A.H. 1059-60/1649-50), and died in 1073/1663 a few days after becoming prime minister to Aurangzēb (see *Pādshāh-nāmah* ii p. 755; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii 524-30, Beveridge's trans. pp. 550-3; Rieu i 260b; Binyon and Arnold *Court painters of the Grand Moguls* pp. 83-4 (portrait Plate xxvi)).

<sup>2</sup> That Shāh-Jahān did not call this work the *Bādshāh-nāmah* (with a B) is clear from an autograph note reproduced by Blochmann in *JASB*. 1870 p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> "Rédaction complètement différente de celle du n° 586, au point qu'on serait presque tenté d'y voir le Padishah namēh de Mohammed Emin ibn Aboul Hosein Kazwini (Rieu, *Catalogue*, p. 258)." Unfortunately Blochet does not give sufficient particulars to render identification possible.



**Ethé** 325 (vol. i. N.d.), 326 (vol. i. N.d.), 327 (vol. i. A.H. 1162/1749), 328–9 (vols. ii–iii. A.H. 1109/1697–8), 330 (vols. ii–iii, defective), **Bānkipūr** vii 565 ii–iii (vols. i–iii. ‘Ālamgīr’s 45th year, i.e. A.H. 1112/1701), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (one copy of vols. i and iii written in the 16th and 17th years of M. Shāh, one of vol. i dated A.H. 1262/1846, and an old but defective copy of vols. i and ii. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 53), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 98 (vol. ii. A.H. 1147/1734 ?), **Lindesiana** p. 207 no. 928 (circ. A.D. 1750), **Bodleian** 232 (vols. i–iii. N.d.), 233 (vol. i. N.d.), 234 (vol. i. N.d.), 235 (vol. i. N.d.), 1967 (vols. i–iii. A.H. 1197/1783) 1968 (vols. ii–iii. N.d.), **R.A.S.** P. 127 = Morley 123 (vol. i), P. 128 = Morley 124 (vol. i. A.H. 1231/1815), **Būhār** 74 ii (vol. i. A.H. 1235/1820), 75 (vol. iii. A.H. 1235/1820), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 220 no. 221 (vol. ii), no. 525, p. 244 no. 235 (? *Shāh-Jahān-nāmah* by ‘Alā’ al-Mulk Tūnī); iii p. 92 no. 1298 (vols. ii–iii), p. 104 no. 1459 (apparently a fragment of vol. iii dealing with events from 1067 to 1068), **Aumer** 261, **Bombay** Fyzee 6 (vol. iii only ?), **Mehren** 59 (vol. ii), **Salemann-Rosen** p. 16 no. 142 (vol. iii).

Edition [of vols. i and ii only]: *The Bādshāh Nāmah, by ‘Abd Al-Hamīd Lāhawrī edited by Mawlawis Kabīr Al-Din Ahmad and Abd Al-Rahīm. Under the superintendence of Major W. N. Lees . . . , Calcutta 1866–72°\** (Bibliotheca Indica).

Translated extracts: (1) *Koch Bihār, Koch Hājō, and Āsām, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbarnāmah, the Pādishāhnāmah, and the Fathiyah i ‘Ibriyah. By H. Blochmann* (in the *JASB.* 41 (1872) pp. 49–101), (2) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 3–72, 121–2, (3) *A complete key to the Persian Entrance Course for 1897–1898. By Oude Behari Lal and Jwala Prasada*, pt. 1, **Allahabad** [1896°], [1897°], pp. 80–108.

Description: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 3–5.

[For ‘Abd al-Hamīd see *Pādshāh-nāmah*, preface; ‘*Amal i Sālih*, in the section on prose writers near the end; Elliot and Dowson vii p. 3; Rieu i p. 260.

For M. Wārith see *Pādshāh-nāmah*, *Daftar* iii, preface; *Ma’āthir i ‘Ālamgīrī* p. 192 (cf. Elliot and Dowson vii p. 121,



where the passage is translated) ; Elliot and Dowson vii p. 121 ; Rieu i 260.]

735. M. Ṣādiq entitled **Ṣādiq Khān**, apparently a Persian by birth, held at different times in Shāh-Jahān's reign the offices of *Bakhshī*, Tutor (*Atālīq*) to Prince Shāh Shujā', Shāh-Jahān's second son, *Dārōghah* of the *Ghusl-khānah* or private audience-chamber and *Waqā'i'-nawīs* at Āgrah. Having remained faithful to Shāh-Jahān, he was deprived of the last office by Aurangzēb and summoned to the royal presence in Jumādā ii 1068/1658.

(*Shāh-Jahān-nāmah* or *Tawārīkh i Shāh-Jahānī* or *Pādshāh-nāmah*), a plain narrative of Shāh-Jahān's reign to the time of his confinement by Aurangzēb : Rieu i 262 (A.H. 1220/1805 ?), iii 1008b (defective at end. A.H. 1244/1829), Rāmpūr (modern. See *JRAS.* 1936 p. 281).

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii p. 133.

[Autobiographical statements (see Rieu i 262) ; Abū 'l-Faḍl Ma'mūrī's (?) History of Aurangzēb (B.M. MS. Or. 1671 fol. 100b. See Rieu iii 1008b).]

736. M. Tāhir "Āshnā" entitled 'Ināyat **Khān** was the son of Zafar **Khān** "Aḥsan", who held the governorship of Kashmīr and other offices in Shāh-Jahān's reign. He became *Dārōghah i Hudūr* and *Dārōghah i Kitāb-khānah*, or Imperial Librarian, to Shāh-Jahān. In Aurangzēb's reign he retired to Kashmīr, where he died in 1077/1666-7 or 1081/1670-1. For his *dīwān* etc. see Sprenger pp. 111, 339, Ethé 1584-5.

*Mulakhkhas* (usually called *Shāh-Jahān-nāmah*), a history of the first thirty years of Shāh-Jahān's reign abridged from the *Pādshāh-nāmah* of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and M. Wārith and, so far as the 4th-10th years are concerned, from that of M. Amīn : **Būhār** 70 (only the last ten years with the special title *Qarnīyah i Shāh-Jahān Bādshāh*. 17th cent.), **Ethé** 331 (A.H. 1155/1742), **Rieu** i 261b (18th cent.), 262a (Introduction, first 4 years and part of the 5th. 17th cent.), **Bodleian** 237 (A.D. 1834), **Bānkipūr**



vii 568 (19th cent.), **R.A.S.** P. 129 = Morley 125 (defective at end).

English translation (nearly complete) by Major Fuller : **B.M.** MS. Add. 30777 foll. 1-562.

Description with 45 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 73-120.

[*Mir'āt al-'ālam* (B.M. Add. 7657 fol. 476. Cf. Rieu iii 1083b ad 261b); *Tadhkirah i Tāhir i Naṣrābādī* i pp. 58-9; *Mir'āt i jahān-numā* (cf. Rieu iii 1083b ad 261b); *Kalimāt al-shu'arā'* (Sprenger p. 109); *Hamīshāh bahār* (Sprenger p. 118); *Riyād al-shu'arā'*; *Bāgh i ma'ānī*; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 762-3; *Tadhkirat al-umarā'*; *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (B.M. MS. Or. 1824, fol. 217. Cf. Rieu iii 1083b ad 261b); *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (Bānkīpūr viii no. 704 p. 138); *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (Bodl. 391 no. 314); *Ṣuḥuf i Ibrāhīm* A 227; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 214; Sprenger pp. 109, 118, 339; Rieu i 261, iii 1083; Bānkīpūr vii p. 77.]

737. Sh. **'Ināyat Allāh Kanbō** Lāhaurī was born at Burhānpūr, though a Lāhaurī by descent, and was (metaphorically?) the elder brother of M. Ṣāliḥ Kanbō, the author of the *'Amal i Ṣāliḥ* (see p. 579). He is best known as the author of the collection of tales entitled *Bahār i dānish* which he completed in 1061/1651 (see *Ency. Isl.* under *Bahār-i danish*). After a period of service as an official he retired from the world and lived in a *khānaqāh* beside the shrine of Quṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī [at Delhi]. He died at Delhi on 19 Jumādā i 1082/1671, aged 65.

*Tārīkh i dil-gushā*, a history of Shāh-Jahān and his predecessors (cf. Rieu i 263a): **Browne** Suppt. 234 (n.d. King's 71).

[*'Amal i Ṣāliḥ* iii pp. 379-82 (among the Saiyids and saints), pp. (among the prose writers. Not yet printed); Rieu ii 765, iii 1093b; S. M. Latif, *Lahore: its history etc.*, Lahore 1892, pp. 208-9; *Ency. Isl.* under *'Ināyat Allāh Kanbū*.]

738. M. **Ṣāliḥ Kanbō** Lāhaurī was the pupil and protégé of Sh.



‘Ināyat Allāh Kanbō (see p. 578 *supra*), whom he calls his *birādar i kalān*, or elder brother.<sup>1</sup>

Practically nothing is known about his life,<sup>2</sup> and the date of his death is uncertain. S. M. Latīf states on unspecified authority that he died in 1085/1674–5.<sup>3</sup> It is scarcely possible that he can have been still alive in Šafar 1120/1708,<sup>4</sup> as is implied by the use of the formula *sallama-hu ’llāh* after his name in the colophon of the ‘*Amal i Šālīh*’ preserved in the Lahore Public Library (for the words of this colophon see ‘*Amal i Šālīh, dībāchah i muṣahḥih*’, p. 8).

His tomb still exists outside the Mōchī Gate at Lahore. A small, but beautiful, mosque built by his order and completed in 1079/1668–9 stands to this day inside the Mōchī Gate. The inscription recording the date is quoted by Ghulām-Yazdānī (‘*Amal i Šālīh, dībāchah i muṣahḥih*’, p. 9).

A collection of his letters and other prose compositions, which

<sup>1</sup> Ghulām-Yazdānī argues (‘*Amal i Šālīh, dībāchah i muṣahḥih*’, p. 6) that M. Šālīh cannot have been the brother of ‘Ināyat Allāh, because the latter is always called *Shaikh* ‘Ināyat Allāh, whereas M. Šālīh by prefixing the words *Āl i Muḥammad* to his name shows himself to have been a Saiyid. The latter statement, however, is based on a misconception. The words which M. Šālīh prefixes to his name are *bandah i Āl i Muḥammad* (as in the inscription on his mosque) or *fidawī i Āl i Muḥammad* (‘*Amal i Šālīh*’ i p. 4<sup>6-7</sup>), i.e. the devoted supporter of Muḥammad’s family.

<sup>2</sup> It seems impossible to identify him with the M. Šālīh Kanbō, whom ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī describes as a brave soldier (*Pādshāh-nāmah* ii p. 71 antepenult.: *M. Šālīh Kanbō kih az dilīrān i jān-sipār i dargāh i khawāqīn-panāh būd*) and whom he mentions among those who took prominent parts in Qāsim Khān’s operations against the Franks of Hūglī in 1041/1641–2 (*Pādshāh-nāmah* i 436<sup>9</sup>) and in Islām Khān’s expedition against Kūch Hājō and Assam in 1047/1637 (*op. cit.* ii 71 antepenult., 72<sup>14, 19</sup>, 73<sup>3, 17</sup>, 76<sup>7</sup>). M. Šālīh in recording the same events, evidently on the basis of the *Pādshāh-nāmah*, speaks of M. Šālīh Kanbō in the third person (see ‘*Amal i Šālīh*’ i 498<sup>2</sup>) and describes him as a brave and resourceful man (‘*Amal i Šālīh*’ ii 287<sup>11-12</sup>: *M. Šālīh Kanbō rā kih mard i mardānah i šāhib i tadbīr u taraddud būd bā lashkarī ārastah rawānah i ān-jānib numūd*).

<sup>3</sup> Lahore p. 209.

<sup>4</sup> The *Bahār i sukhun*, a collection of letters composed by himself, was compiled at the suggestion of his friend “Munīr”, who died in 1054/1644. Even supposing that “Munīr’s” suggestion was made in the last year of his life and that Šālīh was not more than twenty years old at the time (a very improbable assumption), his age in 1120 would have been eighty-five lunar years.



bears the title *Bahār i sukhun* and includes letters written by him on behalf of Aurangzēb, Shāh-Jahān, Āṣaf Khān and others, was completed in 1065/1655<sup>1</sup> (see Ethé 2090 and 2091), and a later edition in 1074/1663-4<sup>2</sup> (see Rieu i 398, Ivanow Curzon 144).

(1) '*Amal i Sālih*', a detailed history of Shāh-Jahān completed A.H. 1070/1659-60 (but with later additions): **Ethé** 332 (A.H. 1112-3/1700-2), 333 (A.H. 1157/1744-5), 334 (A.H. 1213/1799 and 1225/1810), 335 (n.d.), 336 (extracts), **I.O.** 3907 (18th cent.), **Lahore** Pub. Lib. *Jīm* 23 (A.H. 1120/1708-9. See '*Amal i Sālih, dībāchah i musahhih*', p. 17), **Rieu** i 263*a* (A.H. 1142/1729), 264*a* (latter half (from 11th year). 18th cent. PICTURES), 264*a* (latter half (from 8th year). A.H. 1186/1773), ii 793*a* (extract. A.H. 1232/1817), iii 935*a* (latter half (from 11th year). Defective at end. A.H. 1263/1847), 935*a* (concluding portion (from 22nd year). 18th cent.), 935*a* (extracts from latter half. 19th cent.), 1048*b* (extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850) 1069*a* (18th cent. 16 PICTURES), **Lindesiana** p. 196 no. 62 (circ. 1730), nos. 381-3 (circ. 1780 and 1800), **R.A.S.** P. 130 = Morley 126 (latter half (from 11th year). Circ. 1759), **Bānkipūr** vii 565 iv (only the years 1067-9. 'Ālamgīr's 45th year, i.e. A.H. 1112/1701), 566 (2) (latter half (from 11th year). 12 PICTURES. 18th cent.), 569-70 (18th cent.), **Ivanow** 152 (19th cent.), 153 (only the years A.H. 1048-69. A.H. 1258/1842), 154 (from 21st year. A.H. 1228/1812), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 248 nos. 671-2, **Browne** Suppt. 791 (King's 252), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 53), **Mehren** 58 (to end of 10th regnal year). **Edinburgh** 81 (A.H. 1224/1809) is described as apparently an abridgment of the '*Amal i Sālih*'.

Edition: '*Amal-i-Sālih or Shāh Jahān Nāmah of Muḥammad Sālih Kambo. . . . Edited by Ghulam Yazdani, Calcutta 1912-*  
 °\* 3 (Bibliotheca Indica).

<sup>1</sup> According to Ethé, who is responsible for distinguishing two editions of the work.

<sup>2</sup> In 1073 according to Ghulam-Yazdānī ('*Amal i Sālih, dībāchah i musahhih*', p. 7<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Nearly the whole of the text has now (June 1938) been printed. The fourth fasciculus of vol. iii, which appeared in 1936, extends to the notice of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, the second in the section devoted to the 'ulamā etc.



Description and 8 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 123-32.

(2) *A pompous account of the expedition sent by Shāh-Jahān under the command of Prince Murād-Bakhsh and 'Alī Mardān Khān against the Uzbek chief Nadhr Muḥammad and of the capture of Balkh on 28 Jumādā I 1056/1646* : Rieu iii 934b (19th cent.).

[*'Amal i Ṣāliḥ* iii p. 381<sup>2</sup>, i, editor's introduction pp. 2-9 ; *Ma'āthir i 'Ālamgīrī* 222 ; Rieu i 263.]

### 739. **Sud'hārī La'l.**

*Tuḥfah i Shāh-Jahānī*, a concise (32 foll.) history of Shāh-Jahān based on the *'Amal i Ṣāliḥ* and other works : Ethé 337 (n.d.).

740. "**Bihishti**" Shīrāzī was a panegyrist of Prince Murād-Bakhsh, Shāh-Jahān's youngest son.

For a MS. of his *Kullīyāt* (in which the *Āshūb i Hindūstān* apparently does not appear) see Edinburgh 305 (A.H. 1096/1684).

*Āshūb-nāmah i Hindūstān* or *Āshūb i Hindūstān*, a historical *mathnawī* on the war of succession between Shāh-Jahān's sons from the rising of Murād-Bakhsh at Aḥmadābād in 1067/1657 to the death of Dārā-Shukōh in 1069/1659 : Ethé 1579 (A.H. 1182/1768), Bodleian 1124 (defective at end), Rieu ii 689b (18th cent.), iii 1044a (circ. A.D. 1848).

Edition : Lucknow 1883<sup>o</sup>.\*

### 741. Other works :

(1) *A short (78 foll.) history of Bābur, Akbar and Shāh-Jahān*, preceded by an account of Tīmūr (beg. *Maḥāmid i jamīlah*) : see § 677 *supra*.

(2) *Waqā'i' i Dak'han*, an account of events in the Deccan in Shāh-Jahān's reign : Blochet i 620 (18th cent.), perhaps also *Āṣafīyah* i p. 258 no. 417 (A.H. 1287/1870-1).



## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (c) THE TĪMŪRIDS

## (7) AURANGZEB

742. M. **Ma'sūm b. Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ** was for twenty-five years in the service of Prince M. **Shāh-Shujā'**, **Shāh-Jahān's** second son, who was Governor of Bengal and Orissa in his father's reign and who was put to death by Aurangzēb in 1070/1660. In 1070/1659-60 he was spending a period of leave at Māldah when he conceived the idea of recording the events of recent years and wrote his

*Tārīkh i Shāh-Shujā'ī* (possibly identical with, or a part of, the *Futūḥāt i 'Ālamgīrī* or *Wāqī'āt i 'Ālamgīrī* described in Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii 198), a life of Prince M. **Shāh-Shujā'** and of the events which preceded and followed the accession of Aurangzēb: **Bānkipūr** vii 572 (19th cent.), **Ethé** 340, **Eton** 191.

Extracts from the *Futūḥāt i 'Ālamgīrī* are to be found in **Rieu** iii 1049a ix (circ. A.D. 1850), and 1058b fol. 64. There is a translation of the preface and headings in **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,779 foll. 170-9.

743. **Shihāb al-Dīn** Aḥmad b. M. Walī **Tālīsh**<sup>1</sup> accompanied Mīr Jumlah (Mīr M. Sa'id Ardistanī, the **Khān i Khānān**) during his campaign against Kūch Bihār and Assam in the fourth and fifth years of Aurangzēb's reign, A.H. 1072/1661-2 and 1073/1662-3, and after the death of Mīr Jumlah, who had sought to conceal the sufferings and losses of the Imperial army, desired to write a truthful account of the campaign, mainly with the object of bringing himself to the notice of the authorities and obtaining his recall from Bengal to the capital.

*Fathīyah i 'ibrīyah* (or *'ibratīyah*), often called *Tārīkh i Āshām* or *Tārīkh i mulk i Āshām*, an account of Mīr Jumlah's campaign, in a *muqaddimah*, on the causes of the expedition, and two *maqālahs* ((1) Defeat of Bīm Narāyan and conquest of

<sup>1</sup> **Tālīsh** is the name of a district and people in the north of Gīlān, see *Ency. Isl.* s.v.



Kūch Bihār, (2) Conquest of Assam) ending with Mīr Jumlah's death on his return to Khidrpur 2 Ramaḍān 1073/1663, the year of composition : Blochet i 598 (A.H. 1073/1663. Possibly autograph), Bānkipūr vii 574 ("not dated, but its appearance tends to suggest that it was written immediately after the composition"), 573 (A.H. 1181/1767. Written by the author's grandson), 575 (18th cent. Calligraphic), Bodleian 240 (with a continuation to Sha'bān 1076/1666.<sup>1</sup> N.d. Possibly autograph), 241 (A.H. 1093/1682), I.O. 4047 (defective. 17th cent.), Ethé 341-3, 344 (2) (extracts only), Rieu i 266a (A.H. 1170/1757), 266b (A.H. 1189/1775), iii 936a (circ. A.D. 1850), 936b (circ. A.D. 1850), 1049b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), perhaps also ii 798a (A.H. 1197/1783), Ivanow 157 (18th cent.), 158 (19th cent.), Berlin 491 (A.H. 1206/1792), Browne Suppt. 225 (Christ's), 226 (Christ's), 887 (Christ's).

Probably the *Tārīkh i Āshām* mentioned without author's name in Lindesiana p. 224 no. 156 (circ. A.D. 1760) is a copy of this work.

It is not clear from Rieu's description whether the work which he calls "Account of Kūch Bahār, and Assam, with a detailed narrative of the campaign of Khānkhānān Muḥammad Mu'azzam Khān" (Rieu ii 798a vi) is the *Fathīyah i 'ibrīyah* or not. He appends to the above description the words "see p. 266a" (where the *Fathīyah i 'ibrīyah* is described), but this manuscript does not occur in the index under *Fathīyah i 'ibrīyah* or *Shihāb al-Dīn Tālīsh*.

Edition : *Tārīkh i Āshām*, Calcutta 1264/1847\*.

Abstract : *Koch Bihār, Koch Hájó, and Ásám, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbarnámah, the Pádisháhnámah, and the Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah. By H. Blochmann (in JASB. 41 (1872) pp. 49-101).*

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of this continuation and two long extracts see Jadunath Sarkar's articles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 1906 pp. 257-67 (*Shāista Khān in Bengal (1664-'66)*) and 1907 pp. 405-18 (*The Conquest of Chatgaon, 1666 A.D.*) and 419-25 (*The Feringi pirates of Chatgaon, 1665 A.D.*). The articles were reprinted by Sarkar in his *Studies in Mughal India* (Calcutta and Cambridge 1919).



Translated extract: *Assam and the Ahoms in 1660 A.D.* By *Jadunath Sarkar* [being a translation of pp. 51–69 of Ivanow 157 or 158] (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* vol. i (1915) 179–95).

Urdu translation by Mīr Bahādur ‘Alī Ḥusainī: *Tārīkh i Āshām*, Calcutta 1805\*.

French translation from the Urdu: *Tarikh-i Asham. Récit de l'expédition de Mir-Djumlah au pays d'Assam, traduit... par T. Pavie*, Paris (Angers printed) 1845\*.

744. Mīr ‘Alī ‘Askarī (commonly called Mīr ‘Askarī) b. M. Taqī Khwāfī was a disciple of the Shattārī saint Burhān al-Dīn Burhānpūrī called Rāz i Ilāhī (d. at Burhānpūr A.H. 1083/1672–3, or 1089/1678. See p. 462 *supra*), whose discourses he collected in 1053/1643–4 under the title *Thamarāt al-ḥayāt* (see Ethé 1896, Ivanow 1278 etc.), and in allusion to whom he chose the *takhalluṣ* “**Rāzī**”. He was second *Bakhshī* to Prince M. Aurangzēb, who on his accession conferred upon him the title of ‘**Āqil Khān**. After serving as *Dārōghah* of the *Ghusl-khānah* and as *Bakhshī i Tan*, he was appointed Governor of the Province of Delhi in the 24th regnal year (A.H. 1091/1680–1092/1681) and he held this office until his death at the age of 82 in Rabī‘ ii 1108/Oct.–Nov. 1696.

‘Āqil Khān “**Rāzī**” was the author of a *diwān* (Sprenger 467, Bodleian 1148) and of several *mathnawīs*, e.g. the *Muraqqa’* (Ethé 1638, Berlin 962, Bānkīpūr iii 361–2, Ivanow 812, Sprenger 468), the *Sham’ u parwānah* (Ethé 1634–5, Bodleian 1149, Ivanow 811, Sprenger 469), and the *Mihr u Māh* (Ethé 1634, 1636, 1637, Rieu ii 699a, Browne Suppt. 979 (Corpus 74), Ivanow Curzon 277, Sprenger 470. Edition: Lucknow, 1846 (acc. to Bānkīpūr iii 361)). Some Sūfistic meditations of his entitled *Naḡhamāt al-Rāzī* were published at the end of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī’s *Marj al-bahrain* at Fathpūr in 1265/1849\*.

(*Wāqī‘āt i ‘Ālamgīrī*), or (*Zafar-nāmah i ‘Ālamgīrī*), an anonymous history of the first five years of Aurangzēb’s reign ending with Ṣafar 1073/Sept.–Oct. 1662 (after which follows a



short note on Shāh-Jahān's death in 1076/1666), ascribed sometimes (in certain colophons and e.g. in Khāfi Khān ii 32<sup>13</sup>) to 'Āqil Khān "Rāzī", but sometimes (see Rieu i 265b, Ethé 345) to Mīr Khān, *Ṣūbah-dār* of Kābul (for whom see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 476-7, Beveridge's trans. pp. 245-6): Ethé 345 (A.H. 1124/1712), 346 (A.H. 1204/1790), I.O. D.P. 695 (25th year of Md. Shāh [A.H. 1155/1743]. In the colophon of this MS. the work is ascribed to 'Ināyat Allāh), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1141/1728. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 54), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 258 no. 600 (A.H. 1190/1776-7), p. 248 no. 760 (defective at end. A.H. 1193/1779), **Rieu** i 265a (see Rieu's Additions and Corrections. A.H. 1193/1779), ii 792b (A.H. 1232/1817), iii 905b (19th cent.), 936a (19th cent.), 936a (A.H. 1261/1845), 936a (A.H. 1264/1848), 1026b xxxii (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1026b v (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1054b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 99 i (A.H. 1196/1782), **Bānkīpūr** Suppt. ii 2263 (A.H. 1202/1787), **Ivanow** 159 (slightly defective. A.H. 1252/1836-7), **Curzon** 31 (A.H. 1226/1812), 698 (A.H. 1327/1909), **Būhār** 483 i (19th cent.).

Edition: *Wāqī'āt i 'Ālamgīrī*, **Lahore** [1936†] (ed. by M. Abdullah Chaghtai).

[*Mir'āt al-khayāl* pp. 238-40 (Bodl. 374 no. 97); *Kalimāt al-shu'arā'* (Sprenger p. 111); *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 123); *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (see *Bānkīpūr* viii p. 86 *ad fin.*); *Riyād al-shu'arā'*; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 821-3, Beveridge's trans. pp. 264-6; *Khulāṣat al-kalām* no. 29; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 894; Ouseley *Notices of Persian poets* p. 167; *Riyād al-afkār* (*Bānkīpūr* Suppt. i p. 54); Sprenger pp. 111, 123, 543; *Sham' i anjuman* p. 172; Rieu ii 699; Ethé 1896.]

745. Munshī **M. Kāẓim**, b. M. Amīn, a son of the author of the *Pādshāh-nāmah* (see p. 566 *supra*), was appointed *Munshī* by Aurangzēb in the first year of his reign and was subsequently ordered to compile a history of the reign from the official records. In the 21st year (A.H. 1088/1677-8) he was appointed *Dārōghah* of the *Ibtiyā'-khānah* (*Ma'āthir i 'Ālamgīrī* p. 163). He died at Delhi in 1092/1681.



‘*Ālamgīr-nāmah*, a history of the first ten years of Aurang-zēb’s reign (to the end of Rajab 1078/15 Jan. 1668) : *Muntakhab al-lubāb* ii 210, **Lindesiana** p. 194 no. 917 (A.H. 1113/1701-2), no. 817 (A.H. 1128/1716), no. 375 (A.H. 1249/1833-4), **Bloch** i 595 (18th cent.), 596 (A.H. 1114/1702), 597 (defective. 18th cent.), **Eton** 187, 188 (A.H. 1115/1703-4), **Ivanow** 160 (early 18th cent.), 1st. Suppt. 762 (fragment. Late 18th cent.), **Bodleian** 243 (A.H. 1130/1718), 244 (once owned by M. Shāh), **Ethé** 347 (A.H. 1131/1719), 348 (A.H. 1130), 349 (old), 350 (A.H. 1138/1726), 351 (A.H. 1161/1748), 352-7, ii 3011 (n.d.), **R.A.S.** P. 131 = Morley 127 (A.H. 1150/1737), P. 132 = Morley 128 (A.H. 1152/1739), P. 133 = Morley 129 (A.H. 1157/1744), P. 134 = Morley 130 (A.H. 1157/1744), P. 135 = Morley 131 (A.H. 1225/1810), **Rieu** i 266b (A.H. 1150/1737), 267a (A.H. 1184/1778), 267a (18th cent.), 267b (early 18th cent.), 267b (18th cent.), 267b (A.H. 1233/1818), 267b (first part only = Calcutta ed. pp. 1-542), 267b (1st half. 18th cent.), ii 823b (victories over Jaswant Sing’h and Dārā-Shukōh. A.D. 1717), **Edinburgh** 214 (old), 215 (A.H. 1193/1779), **Bānkīpūr** vii 576 (19th cent.), 577 (19th cent.), ‘**Aligarh** Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 58 no. 7 (defective at end), **Aumer** 264, **Browne** Suppt. 850 (n.d.), 851 (not later than A.D. 1754. Trinity), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (2 copies. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 54), **Leyden** iii p. 13 no. 924, **Madras** (2 copies).

Edition : **Calcutta** 1865-73°\* (ed. Khādīm Ḥusain and ‘Abd al-Ḥaiy. Bibliotheca Indica).

Extract with English translation : *A description of Assam. Extracted from the Alemgeernameh of Mohammed Cazim, and translated by H. Vansittart* (in *The Asiatick Miscellany*, vol. i (**Calcutta** 1785\*) pp. 458-80). The same English translation (without the Persian text) was published in *The history of the first ten years of the reign of Alemgeer. Written . . . by M. Sakee. Translated by H. Vansittart* (**Calcutta** 1785°\*) pp. 61-77.

Description and 3 pp. of translated extracts : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 174-80.

An abridgment (?) : *Intikhāb i ‘Ālamgīrī-nāmah* [sic] **Bukhārā**



Semenov 5. For M. Sāqī Musta'idd Khān's abridgment of this work see below.

[*Ālamgīr-nāmah*, preface; *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (Rieu iii 895) fol. 256; Elliot and Dowson vii pp. 174-6; Rieu i 267, iii 1083b.]

746. **Hātim Khān** describes himself as a *khānah-zād*, i.e. the son of a court official. In the subscription to the B.M. MS. of his *Ālamgīr-nāmah*, which was transcribed in Aurangzēb's 47th year (A.H. 1115/1702), he is described as already dead.

(*Ālamgīr-nāmah*), a history of the early part of Aurangzēb's reign abridged (with some additions) from M. Kāẓim's work (see p. 586 *supra*) and stopping short at the beginning of the tenth year (p. 1038 in the printed text of M. K.'s *Ālamgīr-nāmah*): Rieu i 268a (A.H. 1115/1702).

747. **Allāh-Yār** b. Hājji Muḥammad-Yār **Uzbek Balkhī**.

(1) *Ausāf-nāmah i 'Ālamgīrī*, a panegyric on Aurangzēb in mixed prose and verse: **Browne** Pers. Cat. 100 (i) (bears Aurangzēb's "bookplate" of A.H. 1081/1670-1).

(2) *A'zam-nāmah*, a similar panegyric on Prince M. A'zam: **Browne** Pers. Cat. 100 (ii) (same MS.).

748. **Īsar-Dās** Nāgar,<sup>1</sup> a resident of Paṭṭan, was from his youth to his thirtieth year in constant attendance upon the Qādī Shaiḫ al-Islām b. Qādī Abd al-Wahhāb (*Qādī i Lashkar* A.H. 1086/1675-6—1094/1683, d. at Aḥmadābād A.H. 1109/1697-8). Subsequently he was in the service of Shajā'at Khān (Governor of Gujrāt A.H. 1098/1686-7, d. 1113/1701-2), by whom he was made *Amīn* in Jōd'hpūr. For a service rendered to the Imperial Court he was rewarded with a command of 250 men and a *jāgīr* at Meerut.

*Futūhāt i 'Ālamgīrī*, a history of Aurangzēb to the 34th year of his reign A.H. 1101-2/1690-1: Rieu i 269a (A.H. 1246/1830), **Edinburgh** 218.

<sup>1</sup> "Name of a tribe of Gujarātī Brāhmaṇs" (Platts).



Description with a life of Isar Dās: *An old Hindu historian of Aurangzēb* (in Jadunath Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India* (Calcutta and Cambridge 1919) pp. 242-9).

English translation: see J. Sarkar *op. cit.* p. 242 ("I have made a full translation of it into English, which I intend to publish").

[Autobiographical statements (for which see Rieu and especially Sarkar *op. cit.*)]

749. Sh. Ra'fat (a nephew of M. Sanā'i (Rieu) or M. Sunnā [sic] Khān (Bānkīpūr viii p. 100), or M. Thanā Khān (Bodleian 395, no. 3001) "Wahshat" Kashmīrī) refers in his *Futūhāt i 'Ālamgīrī* to an unfinished work of his entitled *Ā'īnah i jahān-numā* on the contest of Aurangzēb's sons for the throne.

*Futūhāt i 'Ālamgīrī*, a rhetorical account of the victories of Aurangzēb, written after his death: **Rieu** iii 1036a (abstract only, from the unique copy belonging to 'Alī M. Jhajharī. A.D. 1851).

750. **Bhim-Sēn** son of Rag'hū-Nandan-Dās, a Kāyat'h (i.e. Kāyast'ha), was born at Burhānpūr in the year 17[0]5 of the Vikramī era (A.D. 1648-9) which he equates with Shāh-Jahān's 23rd regnal year. He served in the Deccan wars of Aurangzēb's time under Rāo Dalpat,<sup>1</sup> a Būndēlah chieftain in Aurangzēb's service, and was for a time commandant of the fort of Naldrug. After the defeat and death of Kām-bakhsh (A.H. 1120/1709) he left the service and retired to Burhānpūr.

*Dilgushā* (*Tārīkh i dilgushā* or *Nuskah i dilgushā*), completed A.H. 1120/1708-9, an account, based mainly on personal recollections, of military transactions in the Deccan from Aurangzēb's march to Āgrah (A.H. 1068/1658) to the defeat of Kām-bakhsh (A.H. 1120/1709): **Rieu** i 271a (A.H. 1140/1728), **Bloch** i 602 (late 18th cent.), **Ethé** 445 (defective, "only going down to about the thirtieth year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, A.H. 1089 (A.D. 1687)").

<sup>1</sup> For his life see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 317 foll., Beveridge's trans. pp. 442-6.



Abridged English translation (made from the B.M. MS.): *Ferishta's History of Dekkan . . . with a continuation from other native writers, of the events in that part of India . . . By Jonathan Scott, Shrewsbury 1794<sup>o</sup>\*, Vol. ii pp. 3-123.<sup>1</sup>*

Description with a life of Bhīm Sēn: *A great Hindu memoir-writer* (in Jadunath Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India* (Calcutta and Cambridge 1919) pp. 231-41).

[Autobiographical statements (for which see Rieu and especially Sarkar *op. cit.*).]

751. Mīrzā Nūr al-Dīn <sup>2</sup> M. “‘**Ālī**” b. Ḥakīm Fath al-Dīn Shīrāzī belonged to a medical family of Shīrāz. If not born in India,<sup>3</sup> he spent most of his life there. According to his own statement in the *Bahādur-Shāh-nāmah* (cited by Rieu, i p. 272a, where the passage is said to occur on fol. 44 of the B.M. MS. Or. 24) he entered the government service in Shāh-Jahān's reign. According to the *Khizānah i ‘āmirah* (p. 344<sup>1</sup>) he was for a period in Aurangzēb's reign Superintendent (*Dārōghah*) of the Royal Kitchen (*Bāwarchī-khānah*) with the title **Ni‘mat Khān** (conferred upon him in 1104/1692-3 according to the prose preface to his *dīwān*. See Sprenger p. 328). At the end of the reign he was Keeper of the Crown Jewels (*Dārōghah i Jawāhir-khānah*), with the title of Muqarrab **Khān**, and, as he tells us himself (*Bahādur-Shāh-nāmah*, *loc. cit.*), he kept the jewels at Gwalior during the warfare which followed Aurangzēb's death and

<sup>1</sup> *Aurangzebe's operations in Dekkan* [being “a free translation of a Journal kept by a Bondela officer, who attended Dulput Roy, the chief of his tribe, in all Aurangzebe's campaigns, which was presented to me by the Raja of Dutteah, a great grandson of Dulput Roy”].

<sup>2</sup> See the prose preface to the *dīwān* and Sprenger p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 91) he “was originally from Mashhad” and “after performing the pilgrimage, he came to India in the middle of ‘Ālamgīr's reign [*sic*, but we know from his own statement, if Rieu has correctly reported it, that he entered the government service in the time of Shāh-Jahān]. According to the *Khizānah i ‘āmirah* (p. 343 penult.) Ḥakīm Fath al-Dīn came to India and, “they say” (*gūyand*), Mīrzā M. was born in India, went in his childhood (*dar siḡhar i sinn*) to Shīrāz with his father, was educated there and returned to India, where he entered the service of Aurangzēb. Cf. *Riyāḍ al-afkār* (Bānkīpūr Suppt. i p. 57), which is probably dependent on the *Khizānah i ‘āmirah*.



delivered them to Bahādur-Shāh on his accession. He then received the title **Dānishmand Khān** and was ordered to write the official history of the reign.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī*<sup>2</sup> he died at Delhi<sup>3</sup> on 1 Rabī' al-Awwal 1122/30 April 1710.<sup>4</sup>

“‘Ālī” is famous as a satirist and wit. The *Waqā'i'*, which is the best known of his satirical compositions, is still popular in India among those who read Persian.

His *dīwān* has been published (without the prose preface) at [Lucknow] in 1881° and at Cawnpore in 1894\*; the *Husn u 'Ishq*, an imitation of “Fattāhī's” *Husn u Dil*, at [Cawnpore] in 1259/1843\*, at Shāhjahanābād [i.e. Delhi] in 1844°, at [Bombay ?] in 1265/1849\* (preceded by the *Waqā'i'*), at [Lucknow] in [1783°] and at Lucknow in 1899°; and the *Ruqa'āt u Mudhikāt* at Lucknow in 1261/1845°\*.

Other works of his, such as the *Rāḥat al-qulūb*, satirical sketches of some contemporaries, and the *Risālah i Hajw i hukamā'*, a satire on physicians, are described in Ethé 1659–62, Rieu ii 744b, 796a, 850b, Bodleian 1157, 1159, and elsewhere. For the *Bahādur-Shāh-nāmah* see p. 600 *infra*.

(1) *Rūz-nāmah i waqā'i' i aiyām i muḥāsarah i dār al-jihād Haidarābād*, usually called *Waqā'i' i Haidarābād*, or *Waqā'i' i Ni'mat Khān i 'Ālī*, or *Waqā'i' i Gulkundah*, a facetious and satirical account of Aurangzēb's siege of Haidarābād A.H. 1097/1686 in mixed prose and verse: **Edinburgh** 375 ii (11th cent. H.), 82, **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1131/1718–19. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 54), **Ethé** 1663 (A.H. 1135/1723), 1659 ii (collated A.H. 1136/1723–4), 1664 (A.H. 1152/1739), 1665 (seal dated A.H. 1190/1776), 1661 i (A.H. 1191/1777), 1660 iv (n.d.), 1662 ii (n.d.), 1666 (A.H. 1207/1792), 1667 (n.d.), 1668 (n.d.), **Rieu** ii 745a (A.H. 1151/1738), 858a (A.D. 1782), 796a (18th cent.), 859a

<sup>1</sup> For this history, usually called the *Bahādur-Shāh-nāmah*, see p. 600 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> See Rieu ii 703a.

<sup>3</sup> At Lahore according to “*Khawushgū*”.

<sup>4</sup> This precise date is probably correct, but other dates are given elsewhere, 1120 (*Hamīshah bahār*), 1121 (*Dīwān i muntakhab*, Sprenger p. 151, *Khizānah i 'āmirah* p. 344<sup>3</sup>) and 1123 (*Safīnah i Khawushgū*).



(1st pt. only. 18th cent.), 819 (A.D. 1819), 854b (A.H. 1248/1832), 850b (A.H. 1250/1835), i 268a (19th cent.), 268b (19th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 204 no. 131a (circ. A.D. 1740), no. 780 (?) (A.H. 1236/1820-1), no. 792f (?) (circ. A.D. 1795), **Eton** 198 (A.H. 1187/1773-4), **Bānkipūr** Suppt. ii 2194 (A.H. 1195/1781), 2258 (A.H. 1222/1807), 2329 (A.H. 1222/1807), 2315 (A.H. 1248/1833), 2219 (A.H. 1273/1856), **Bānkipūr** iii 370 iv (19th cent.), 371 (19th cent.), 878 vi, ix 1098 xviii, **Bodleian** 1157 (5) (n.d.), 1159 (1) (A.H. 1209/1795), 1160 (defective), **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A. iv 21 (n.d.), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 258 nos. 546 (n.d.), 587 (A.H. 1212/1797-8), p. 260 nos. 752 (A.H. 1257/1841), 773 (A.H. 1212/1797-8), **Bloch** i 599 (18th cent.), iv 2326 (18th cent.), **Ivanow** 826 (4) (late 18th cent.), 1st Suppt. 778 (A.H. 1233/1817), 816 (28), **Ivanow** Curzon 111 (late 18th cent.), 112 (A.H. 1236/1821), 709 (circ. A.D. 1845), **Bombay** Univ. 28 (A.H. 1225/1810), 'Aligarh Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 57 no. 954 (2) (A.H. 1244/1828-9), p. 58 no. 6 (A.H. 1229/1814), **Rehatsek** p. 99 no. 53 (A.H. 1237/1821-2), **Berlin** 513, **Madras** (2 copies), **Majlis** 622 (4), **Vollers** 986 (1) (? "Geschichte der Kämpfe des Aurangzib").<sup>1</sup>

Editions : [India] 1248/1832-3 (together with the *Husn u 'Ishq*. See Rieu i 268b), 1265/1849\*, [1849 ?\*], [Lucknow] 1260/1844° (with marginal notes by Maqbūl Aḥmad Gōpāmauī<sup>2</sup>), 1264/1848°\* (with M.A.'s notes), **Lucknow** 1859° (with M.A.'s notes), [place ?] 1261/1845 (Āṣafīyah i p. 260 no. 801), [place ?] 1270/1853-4 (Āṣafīyah i p. 260 no. 258), **Cawnpore** 1869\*, 1870° (with M.A.'s notes), 1878°\* (with different notes), 1884†, 1901†, **Calcutta** 1915 (ed. Otto Rothfeld. See *JRAS.* 1916 p. 201).

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 200-1.

Commentaries : (1) *Sharḥ i aḥadīyah bar Waqā'i i Muḥammadīyah*, by 'Abd Allāh : **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1300/1883. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 55), (2) *Mā'idat al-fawā'id*, by Ghulām-Makhdūm, *Mudarris* in the Hoogly Madrasah : **Lahore** Panjāb

<sup>1</sup> The words quoted by Vollers are those with which the prose preface to the *dīwān* opens.

<sup>2</sup> Gōpāmau is 14 miles E. of Hardoi in Oudh.



Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1236/1821. See *Oriental College Magazine*, loc. cit.).

(2) *Jang-nāmah*, an account of Aurangzēb's war against the Mahārāṇā of Udaipūr and of the hostilities between Bahādur Shāh and M. A'zam Shāh after his death : **Ivanow** Curzon 162 v (late 18th cent. ?), **Ivanow** 1st Suppt. 761 (early 19th cent.), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1261/1845. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 55), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 236 no. 767 (A.H. 1271/1854-5), 'Aligarh Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 58 nos. 5 and 16, **Bānkīpūr** xvii 1716 (19th cent.), **Rieu** iii 1049b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Editions : **Lucknow** 1259/1843\*, 1261/1845° (two editions ?), 1899†, **Cawnpore** 1279/1862°, 1877\*, 1297/1880°\*, 1884†, 1896†.

English translations : (1) *An English translation of Niamat Khan Ali's Jang Nama. With a concise and comprehensive substance of the book and a short sketch of the author's life by Chandra Lall Gupta and Angan Lall Varma. Āgrah, 1909°.* (2) *A faithful English translation of Jang Namah of Nimat Khan-i-Ali with a glossary of difficult words and phrases, references to allusions, &c., By M. Baij Nath, Figar. Lucknow 1928\*.*

English abstract : **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,779, foll. 200-48.

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii p. 202.

[*Hamāshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 127); *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (**Bānkīpūr** viii p. 91); *Khāfī Khān* ii 338<sup>17</sup>; *Riyāḍ al-shu'arā'*; *Tadhkirah i Husaini*; *Majma' al-nafā'is*; *Yad i baidā'*; *Sarw i Āzād*; *Dīwān i muntakhab* (Sprenger p. 151); *Khizānah i 'āmīrah* pp. 333-46 (no. 82); *Kēwal Rām Tadhkirat al-umarā'*, *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (**Rieu** iii 895) fol. 245; *Makhzan al-qharā'ib* no. 1675; *Naghmah i 'andalīb*; *Riyāḍ al-afkār* (**Bānkīpūr** Suppt. i p. 56); Sprenger pp. 127, 151, 328; Elliot and Dowson vii p. 200; **Rieu** i 267, ii 703a, iii 1049 (the **B.M.** MS. Or. 2054 contains extracts relating to Ni'mat Khān from several of the works mentioned above); *Ency. Isl.* under Ni'mat Khān (Berthels).]

752. M. Sāqī entitled **Musta'idd Khān** was brought up by



Bakhtāwar Khān (see p. 132 *supra*), whom he served as *Munshī* and *Dīwān*, and, in the last seventeen years of his life, assisted in the composition of the *Mir'āt al-'ālam*. After Bakhtāwar Khān's death he entered the Imperial service with a *mansab*, and held the offices of *Waqā'i'-nigār*, *Mushrif* of the *Naqqāsh-khānah* (A.H. 1095/1684), *Mushrif* of the *Jā-namāz-khānah* (A.H. 1097/1683-4), *Mushrif* of the *Khawāṣṣān* (A.H. 1110/1698), and *Munshī i Nazārat* (A.H. 1113/1701). In the reign of Bahādur Shāh he was requested by his patron 'Ināyat Allāh Khān b. Mīrzā Shukr Allāh to compile a history of the forty years of Aurangzēb's reign which, owing to the prohibition of historical writing, were not included in the '*Ālamgīr-nāmāh*. He died at Delhi on 20 Shawwāl 1136/1724 at the age of seventy-five.

*Ma'āthir i 'Ālamgīrī* (a chronogram = 1122/1710-11, the date of completion), a history of the reign of Aurangzēb, the first ten years (a later addition) being an abridgment of the '*Ālamgīr-nāmāh* : **Lindesiana** p. 199 no. 446 (A.H. 1136/1723-4), **Būhār** 76 (A.H. 1138/1725), **Edinburgh** 216 (A.H. 1145/1732), 217, 411 (A.H. 1161/1748), **Bloch** i 600 (A.H. 1147/1734), 601 (A.H. 1148/1735), **Ethé** 365 (A.H. 1154/1741), 366 (n.d.), 367 (A.H. 1211/1796), 368 (defective), 369 (extracts only. A.H. 1148/1735), **I.O.** D.P. 760a (first ten years only. A.H. 1219/1804), **Ivanow** 164 (A.H. 1154/1741-2), 165 (late 18th cent.), 166 (late 18th or early 19th cent.), **Berlin** 492 (A.H. 1155/1742), **Eton** 189 (A.H. 1180/1766-7), **Rieu** i 270a (18th cent.), 271a (18th cent.), 271a (18th cent.), iii 936b (18th cent.), 936b (A.H. 1188/1774), 936b (A.H. 1221/1806), 937a (19th cent.), **Bānkipūr** vii 578 (lacks 1st ten years. A.H. 1202/1787), Suppt. 1767 (defective. A.H. 1221/1806-7), **R.A.S.** P. 136 = Morley 132 (A.H. 1230/1814), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (1st ten years. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 54), **Bodleian** 247, **Mehren** 60, 61.

Editions : **Calcutta** 1870-3<sup>o</sup>\* (ed. Āghā Ahmad 'Alī. *Bibliotheca Indica*), **Āgrah** 1873†.

Text and translation of years i-x : *The History of the first ten years of the reign of Alemgeer. Written . . . by Mohammed Sakee. Translated by H. Vansittart.* **Calcutta** 1785<sup>o</sup>\*.



Description and 14 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii 181-97.

[*Ma'āthir i 'Ālamgīrī* preface and pp. 254, 255, 278, 407, 462; *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (Rieu iii 895) fol. 256; Rieu i 270, iii 1083b; *Ency. Isl.* under Musta'idd Khān.]

753. Of the three recorded manuscripts which contain Ṣādiq Khān's *Shāh-Jahān-nāmah* (see p. 577 *supra*) two (namely the Elliot MS. Or. 1671 (Rieu iii 1008b) in the British Museum and the Rāmpūr MS.) contain also a prefaceless history of Aurangzēb's reign which to a large extent agrees closely with the corresponding part of Khāfi Khān's history but which speaks of Shāh-Ālam (Bahādur Shāh) as the reigning sovereign and must therefore have been written about twenty years earlier than [the completion of] the *Muntakhab al-lubāb* (see p. 468 *supra*). To Rieu it seemed highly probable that it was an early draft of Khāfi Khān's account of Aurangzēb's reign, but Professor Sri Ram Sharma has recently examined the Rāmpūr MS. and has been led to a different conclusion. In an article entitled *A new [?] contemporary history of Aurangzeb's reign*, which he published in the *JRAS.* for 1936, pp. 279-83, he states <sup>1</sup> that the author mentions his name in several places and that he is **Abū 'l-Faḍl Ma'mūrī**.

A certain Mīr Abū 'l-Faḍl Ma'mūrī served for many years with the *kūmakīs* in the Deccan during Shāh-Jahān's reign and won the esteem and friendship of successive Governors, including Aurangzēb. When the latter encamped at the Narbadah on his northward march to claim the succession to Shāh-Jahān's throne, Abū 'l-Faḍl's *manṣab* was increased to 1000/400.<sup>2</sup> After the victory over Jaswant it was raised to 1500/500 and he received the title of Ma'mūr Khān. Shortly afterwards he was murdered by the disgruntled general Najābat Khān, to whom he had been sent with a message from Aurangzēb (see Khāfi Khān ii pp. 47<sup>1-7</sup>, 111<sup>1-2</sup>, *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 506<sup>2-4</sup>, 826<sup>13-15</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Sharma does not quote the actual words on which his conclusions are based.

<sup>2</sup> This is the notation adopted by W. H. Moreland in his article *Rank (manṣab) in the Mogul State Service* (*JRAS.* 1936 pp. 641-65).



Evidently, therefore, the history of Aurangzēb's reign cannot have been written by him. It is conceivable that at a later period there may have been another official bearing the name Abū 'l-Faql Ma'mūrī, but judgment must be suspended until more evidence is available. The autobiographical details which Professor Sri Ram Sharma has found in the history may eventually lead to the identification of the author. "Early in Aurangzeb's reign," says Professor Sharma, "he seems to have been appointed Darogha-i-Buyūtāt which office he occupied for thirty years till the thirty-sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign. Towards the end of the year 25 he was appointed Waqa'-i-Nawis [sic] of Burhānpur to hold it along with his old appointment as a Mīr-i-Sāmān. In the year 1686 he was sent to the army commanded by Prince A'zam with some important instructions. In the year 36 of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed Mīr-i-Bahr. He seems to have either continued in the department of Buyūtāt or was again reverted thereto, as we find him visiting the army besieging Panhāla with certain important papers in the year 44. In the year 46 he was employed as a negotiator on behalf of the besieging Mughal commanders to settle the terms of surrender with Parśrāma, the commander of the fort of Khelna, which they were besieging. He seems to have survived Aurangzeb."

*History of Aurangzēb's reign*, beginning abruptly in the year 1068 and agreeing to a large extent with Khāfi Khān's account: **Rieu** iii 1008b (A.H. 1244/1829), **Rāmpūr** (modern. See *JRAS.* 1936 p. 281).

754. 'Ināyat Allāh Khān b. Mīrzā Shukr Allāh **Kashmiri** was born in Kashmīr in 1063/1653 (*Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (B.M. MS. Or. 1824 = **Rieu** iii 895) fol. 260. Cf. **Rieu** iii 1083b ad 270b). He became *Waqa'ī-nigār* in the 28th year of Aurangzēb's reign, a *khān* in the 35th year, *Dīwān i Tan* in the 36th and *Dīwān i Khālīshah* in the 45th. In Jahāndār Shāh's reign he was appointed *Nāẓim* of Kashmīr. In Farrukh-siyar's reign he was *Dīwān i Khālīshah*, *Dīwān i Tan* and also *Ṣubah-dār* of Kashmīr, the last office being administered by a deputy. In the time of



Muḥammad Shāh he was *Mīr-Sāmān* and for a time deputy *Wazīr*. He died at Delhi on 7 Rabī' i 1138/1725 (according to the *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī*, cited in Rieu iii 1083b ad 270b) or in 1139/1726-7 (according to the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i p. 831<sup>5</sup>).

According to the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 831<sup>1</sup> 'Ināyat Allāh Khān Kashmīrī made a collection of royal orders issued through him and addressed to the princes and amīrs. To this collection he gave the title *Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī*, and, according to the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, it was a well-known (*mutadāwal*) work, like his other compilation, the *Kalimāt i taiyibāt*,<sup>2</sup> a collection of letters written by Aurangzēb himself. At the present time there are only a few recorded manuscripts bearing the title *Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī*. One of these (I.O. 3887) begins with a short preface,<sup>3</sup> in which 'Ināyat Allāh says that for some years it had been his duty to write orders on behalf of Aurangzēb to the royal princes, to sultāns and amīrs and that after Aurangzēb's death he had collected these and given them the title *Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī*.

*Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī* (beginning of preface: *Ba'd i ḥamd i nā-mahdūd . . . wāḍiḥ bād kih faqīr 'Ināyat Allāh . . .*; heading of first *ḥukm*: *Ba-janāb i muqaddas i ḥaḍrat i Bādshāh i Khuld-Ārām-gāh . . .*; beginning of first *ḥukm*: *Dar-īn-wilā az nawishtaḥ i M. Aslam Khān ma'rūd i pīsh-gāh i falak-i'tilā gardīd . . .*), a

<sup>1</sup> *Khuld-Makān inshā u imlā i ū rā mī-pasandīd. Aḥkāmī kih ba-wasāṭat i ū ba-nām i pādshāh-zādahā u umarā ṣudūr yāftah farūham kardah ba-Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī mausūm sākhtaḥ. U shuqqahā i dastkhattī i pādshāh nīz jam' kardah Kalimāt i taiyibāt nām gudhāshtaḥ. Har dū nuskhah mutadāwal ast.*

<sup>2</sup> For the *Kalimāt i taiyibāt*, compiled in 1131, see Rieu i 401a, Ethé 373-4, etc.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the fact that I.O. 3887 was, according to W. Irvine's note on a fly-leaf, transcribed from a manuscript in the Bānkīpūr Public Library [evidently identical with no. 2017 in 'Abd al-Muqtadir's *Supplement*, vol. ii], it is surprising to learn from 'Abd al-Muqtadir's description that "The MS. is defective towards the beginning, and neither the editor's name, nor the title of the work, is given in the work. . . . The copy, without a preface, opens abruptly thus with a letter to Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh before his accession to the throne:—*Dar-īn-wilā az nawishtaḥ i Muḥammad Aslam Khān . . .*" Evidently the preface has disappeared since 1909, when the manuscript was copied, unless the copyist supplied it from some other source.



collection of letters<sup>1</sup> from Aurangzēb to his sons and various officials : **Bānkipūr** Suppt. ii 2017 (19th year of M. Shāh (A.H.1149/1736-7), **I.O.** 3887 (= Irvine 469. Transcribed from the preceding MS. in 1909. Described on fol. 1a as *ḥiṣṣah i awwal*, but there seems to be nothing to show definitely how much of the work is contained in the volume).

The collection of anecdotes incorporating orders of Aurangzēb which has been published by Sir Jadunāt'h Sarkār under the title *Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī* is different from the work, or the part of it, described above. According to Sarkār (introduction p. 32) the work published by him is "the *Aḥkam-i-Alamgiri*, attributed<sup>2</sup> to the pen of Hamiduddin Khan (surnamed *Nimchah-i-Alamgiri*), whose life is given in the *Masir [sic]-ul-umara*, i. 605-611. But of this authorship there is no proof, and none of the three MSS. bears his name".

*Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī* (?), beginning *Dhū'l-Faqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat-Jang dar waqtī kih az fath i Jinjī āmadah*,<sup>3</sup> a collection of anecdotes incorporating the orders issued by Aurangzēb in respect of the circumstances narrated : **I.O.** 4071 (= Irvine 340. 19th cent.), 3987 (= Irvine 252. Transcribed in 1898 from the preceding MS.), 3388 (a fragment. See Sarkār's introduction, p. 32), **Rāmpūr** Nawwāb 'Abd al-Salām Khān (see Sarkār's introduction, pp. 32-3).

Edition : *Aḥkam-i-Alamgiri (Anecdotes of Aurangzib). Persian text [rearranged], with an English translation, notes and a Life of Aurangzib, by Jadunath Sarkar . . . Aḥkām i 'Ālamgīrī taṣnīf i Ḥamīd al-Dīn Khān Nīmchah i 'Ālamgīrī ma'ah tarjamah u tafsīr . . . , Calcutta 1912†.*

English translation : see Edition above. The same translation,

<sup>1</sup> These are actually letters, or extracts from letters, and quite different from the collection published by Sarkār, which, as stated below, consists of anecdotes or brief historical narratives leading up to the orders issued by Aurangzēb in respect of the circumstances narrated.

<sup>2</sup> Sarkār does not say where this attribution is to be found, or by whom it was made.

<sup>3</sup> This anecdote is the 28th in Sarkār's (rearranged) edition.



without the Persian text, was published in a volume entitled *Anecdotes of Aurangzib and historical essays by Jadunath Sarkar* at Calcutta in 1912\* and 1925\* (2nd ed., revised).

755. Other works relating to Aurangzēb :

(1) '*Ain al-jinān*, or *Waqā'i' i Nawwāb Khān dar lashkar i Aurangzēb*, in mixed prose and verse : **Browne** Suppt. 878.

(2) *Aurang-nāmah*, "A poem by 'Haqīrī' (a Roz-bihānī soldier posted in Bengal), often agrees with Ma'sūm; ends with execution of Dārā" : **Āṣafiyah** i p. 220 no. 603 (A.H. 1196/1782. See *The Cambridge History of India*, iv p. 582, from which the above description (by Sarkar) is quoted).

(3) *Detailed history of Delhi*, particulars of the Emperors' movements, lists of *manṣabs*, etc. from the time of Aurangzēb to that of Farrukh-siyar, with a summary account of preceding reigns : **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (Aug. 1926) p. 58 no. 70).

(4) *Gulshan*,<sup>1</sup> by M. Ṣāliḥ. "Dated 1070 by the author" : **Eton** 190.

(5) *Iftitāḥ i sultānī*, a poetical account of Prince Aurangzēb's war with the Uzbaks and Nadhr M. Khān, the ruler of Balkh, written in 1057/1647 by " 'Alawī " or " 'Ulwī " : **Būhār** 394 (A.H. 1150/1737-8).

(6) *Naṣā'ih* of Aurangzēb to his sons and officials : **Berlin** 82 (5) (A.H. 1199/1784-5).

(7) *Nazm al-mulūk*, a *mathnawī* giving a history of India from the accession of Aurangzēb to the reign of Farrukh-siyar : **Rieu** iii 1056b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

(8) *Sā'āt i nahdat i 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh*, time-table of Aurangzēb's marches from 3 Rabī' ii 1066 to 4 Jumādā ii in the 34th (36th ?) regnal year, A.H. 1103 : **Bloch** i 703 foll.

<sup>1</sup> This work is placed in Margoliouth's catalogue among his histories of Aurangzēb, but, if it was "dated 1070 by the author", it cannot extend beyond the beginning of his reign.



107-16 (cf. *Ency. Isl.* Aurangzēb, bibliography. 19th cent.),  
**Edinburgh** 223.

(9) Short extract dealing with Aurangzēb's expeditions against  
 Jaswant Singh : **Ivanow** Curzon 697 (19th cent.).

(10) Short life of Aurangzēb (beginning *Sipās i bī-qiyās i Jā'ilī*  
*Wahīd*) written apparently in the latter half of the 18th century :  
**Bloch** i 603 (late 18th cent.).

(11) *Tārīkh i 'Ālamgīrī*, by 'Abd al-Ḥaiy : **Āṣafīyah** i  
 p. 226 no. 764.

(12) *Tārīkh i 'Ālamgīrī*, by Aḥmad-Qulī Ṣafawī : **'Aligarh**  
 Subh. MSS. p. 58 no. 9.

(13) Titles of the princes and amīrs of Aurangzēb's reign :  
**Rieu** iii 995a (circ. A.D. 1850).

(14) *Waqā'i' i Dak'han*, an account of events in the Deccan  
 in Shāh-Jahān's reign : **Bloch** i 620 (18th cent.), **Āṣafīyah** i  
 p. 258 no. 417 (A.H. 1287/1870-1).

(15) *Wāsiyat al-'iqd*, by Mīr M. Faḍl, "on the events of  
 his own time (Aurangzīb's reign)" : **Lindesiana** p. 193 no. 793  
 (A.H. 1114/1702).

(16) *Waṣīyat-nāmah* : **Rieu** ii 799a iv, iii 1007a, **I.O.** D.P.  
 898, **Ivanow** 935(3).

(17) Unidentified history of Aurangzēb: **Caetani** 33 (ornate MS.).

756. For the *Muntakhab al-lubāb* of **Khāfi Khān** see pp. 468-70  
*supra*.

For **Sh.** M. Murād's history of Aurangzēb and his successors to  
 the 21st year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign see p. 610 *infra*.

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA (c) THE TĪMŪRIDS (8) THE 18TH CENTURY

757. (1) *A'zam al-ḥarb*, a detailed account of A'zam Shāh's  
 brief reign (10 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1118/15 March 1707-18 Rabī' i  
 1119/19 June 1708), by Kāmraj : see p. 606 *infra*.



(2) *Jang-nāmah i Muḥammad Mu'azzam Shāh u A'zam Shāh*, by 'Atā' Allāh: *Āṣafīyah* i p. 236 no. 761 (defective at end).

(3) Note on the struggle that followed the death of Aurangzēb : *Ivanow Curzon* 700 (19th cent.).

(4) *Waqā'i' i jang i Bahādur [Shāh] Shāh-'Ālam ghāzī u M. A'zam Shāh ghāzī wa-ghairah shāh-zādahā i wālā-tabār wāqī' ba-tārīkh i yāzdahum i shahr i Rabī' al-Thānī sanah i 1117 (? 1118) Hijrī Nabawīyah u panjāh u yak az julūs būd* : *Aberystwyth* 9 (6).

758. Mīrzā Nūr al-Dīn M. " 'Āli ", entitled successively *Ni'mat Khān*, *Muqarrab Khān* and *Dānishmand Khān*, who died in 1122/1710, has already been mentioned (pp. 589-92 *supra*) as the author of the *Waqā'i' i Haidarābād* and the *Jang-nāmah*.

(1) *Jang-nāmah*, an account of Aurangzēb's war against the Mahā-rāṇā of Udaipur and of the hostilities between Bahādur Shāh and M. A'zam Shāh after his death : see p. 592 *supra*.

(2) (*Bahādur-Shāh-nāmah*) or (*Tārīkh i Shāh-'Ālam Bahādur-Shāh*), the official detailed history of Bahādur Shāh's first two years : *Ethé* 1659 i (abridged recension. Collated A.H. 1136/1723-4), 385 (not later than A.H. 1196/1782), 386 (an abridged recension. A.H. 1195/1781), 387 (the same abridged recension. A.H. 1217/1803), 1670 (abridged recension), *Ross and Browne* 10 (18th cent.), *I.O.* 3933, 3990 (A.D. 1897), *Bodleian* 256 (A.H. 1161/1748 ?), *Lindesiana* p. 204 no. 162 (circ. A.D. 1740-60), *Rieu* ii 745a (A.H. 1151/1738), i 272a (A.H. 1196/1782), iii 937b (A.D. 1849), 1028a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), *Aumer* 265 (A.H. 1198/1784), *Browne Suppt.* 189 (n.d.).

Description : *Elliot and Dowson History of India* vii 568.

759. Apparently in the reign of Jahāndār Shāh (A.H. 1124/1712) was written

A florid, but circumstantial, work, of which detached fragments (20 foll.) relating to the reigns of Bahādur Shāh and Jahāndār Shāh are preserved in *Rieu Suppt.* 79 (18th cent. PICTURES).



760. Mirzā Mubārak Allāh “Wādih” entitled Irādat Khān (‘Ālamgīrī) was the son of Mīr Ishāq<sup>1</sup> entitled likewise Irādat Khān (Shāh-Jahānī, d. 1068/1658 as *Ṣūbahdār* of Oudh) who was himself the son of Mīr M. Bāqir Sāwajī entitled first Irādat Khān (Jahāngīrī) and afterwards A‘zam Khān (see *Ma‘āthir al-umarā’* i 174–80). He must have been born in 1059/1649 (since he was 67 in 1126/1714). In Aurangzēb’s 33rd year, A.H. 1100/1689, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Chāknah<sup>2</sup> and in the 40th year, A.H. 1108/1697, *Faujdār* of Aurangābād. It was in this year that he received the title of Irādat Khān. In the 47th year, A.H. 1114/1703, he was *Qal‘ah-dār* of Gulbargah, and subsequently he became *Qal‘ah-dār* and *Faujdār* of Māndū. When Prince Bēdār-bakht, the son of M. A‘zam, was appointed Governor of Mālwah, Irādat Khān became one of his intimate friends. After Bahādur Shāh’s death Irādat Khān espoused the cause of ‘Azīm al-Shān. During Jahāndār’s reign he remained in retirement. He died A.H. 1128/1716 in the reign of Farrukh-siyar (according to the *Natā’ij al-afkār*).

In poetry he was a pupil of M. Zamān “Rāsikh”<sup>3</sup> (see the *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bānkīpūr viii pp. 93, 86)). He was the author of a *mathnawī* entitled *Ā‘īnah i rāz* (see Ethé 1674).

For copies of his *dīwān*, or of selections from it, see Ethé 1674–5, Ivanow 834, Sprenger 551, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This pedigree seems so well attested that it is surprising to find after the *faṣl al-khiṭāb* in some (most ?) MSS. of the Memoirs words in which the author ostensibly calls himself the son of Kifāyat Khān *Shikastah-nawīs* (the actual words are : . . . *fa-ba’d chunīn gūyad jāmi’ u mu’allif i īn sawānīh u waqā’i bandah i khāksār i gunāhgār Mubārak Allāh mutakhalliṣ bi-Wādih walad i maghfirat-nishān Kifāyat Khān Shikastah-nawīs kih chūn Kalimāt i ‘āliyāt etc.*). There seems to be no evidence that Mīr Ishāq ever bore the title Kifāyat Khān (though Beale and Ethé say so), and this title was borne by a celebrated writer of *shikastah*, M. Ja‘far b. M. Muqīm Khān, who was *Dīwān i Tan* and *Dīwān i Khālīṣah* to Shāh-Jahān and who died at Delhi in 1095/1684 (see the *Tadhkirah i khwushnawīsān* p. 105, *Ma‘āthir i ‘Ālamgīrī* p. 247, *Islamic culture* vol. ix, no. 3 (July 1935) p. 421).

<sup>2</sup> “Chākna, a place frequently mentioned . . . lies a little north of Pūna. See an account of Chākna in Grant Duff’s *History of the Mahrattas*, vol. i, p. 61” (Elliot and Dowson vii p. 256 n.).

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Safīnah i Khwushgū* Irādat Khān’s mother was a sister of “Rāsikh’s”, but this is contrary to statements made elsewhere.



*Tārīkh i Irādat Khān*, completed A.H. 1126/1714, memoirs of the seven years from Aurangzēb's death in 1118/1707 to Farrukhsiyar's entry into Delhi in Muḥarram 1125/1713: **Ethé** 389 (earlier than A.D. 1804), 390 ("copied from the original in the Possession of the King of Delhi"), **I.O.** 3925 (A.H. 1304/1886), 4031 (foll. 4b-64a. Fragment only, rather more than half of the work), **Ivanow** Curzon 34 (early 19th cent.), **Bānkīpūr** vii 579 (19th cent.), **Rieu** iii 938a (circ. A.D. 1850), 938b (circ. A.D. 1850), 1049b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Urdu translation: *Sawānīḥ-umrī i Irādat Khān* by **Ashraf Shamsī** Haidarābādī, **Haidarābād** (date ?) (see **Haidarābād Coll.** p. 23).

Abridged English translation: *A translation of the Memoirs of Eradut Khan . . . By J. Scott*, **London** 1786<sup>o\*</sup>, and, as part iv of *Ferishta's History of Dekkan . . . By J. Scott*, **Shrewsbury** 1794<sup>o\*</sup> (unsold copies printed in 1786 being simply bound in).

Description and 28 pp. of translated extracts (from Scott's translation): **Elliot and Dowson History of India** vii 534-64.

[*Mir'āt al-khayāl* pp. 307-8 (Bodl. 374 no. 112); *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 130); *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 93); *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i 204 ult.-205<sup>11</sup>; *Majma' al-nafā'is*; *Sarw i Āzād*; "Sirāj" *Dīwān i muntakhab* (Sprenger p. 151); *Maqālāt al-shu'arā'* (Sprenger p. 160); *Tadhkirat al-umarā'*; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 2990; Sprenger pp. 130, 160, 583; **Rieu** i 938.]

761. **Nūr al-Dīn** b. **Burhān al-Dīn Fārūqī** was descended from a **Balkhī** who accompanied **Bābur** to India, fought at **Karnāl** and settled at **Multān**. On Aurangzēb's death, when **Bahādur Shāh** instructed his son **Mu'izz al-Dīn**, then Governor of **Multān**, to collect an army, **Burhān al-Dīn Fārūqī** joined the army and took his son with him. Shortly after **Bahādur Shāh's** death (20 Muḥarram 1124) **Nūr al-Dīn Fārūqī** was present at the storming of 'Aẓīm al-Sha'n's entrenchment. He complains that although he had worked hard between the death of **Bahādur Shāh** and that of **Rafī' al-Sha'n**, he received no promotion. When



Jahāndār Shāh advanced from Delhi to Āgrah to meet Farrukh-siyar, Nūr al-Dīn and his father at the head of 600 horsemen were posted in the advanced guard. They were forced to give way, and took refuge with 'Abd al-Ṣamad Khān's troops. In Farrukh-siyar's reign Burhān al-Dīn Fārūqī remained for some time in the service of 'Abd al-Ṣamad Khān. He then took part in Nawwāb Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's expedition against Ajīt Sing'h, but when the army set out on the return march from Rajputana to Delhi, he parted company with them and returned home to Multān. Nūr al-Dīn Fārūqī then settled in the Maḥallah Fārūqī-yān in Old Delhi. When S. 'Abd Allāh Khān sent 'Abd al-Ṣamad Khān to be *Ṣūbadār* of Lahore and to quell the insurrection of Gōbind Sing'h, Nūr al-Dīn Fārūqī took the opportunity of revisiting his home after eleven years and accompanied the army to the Panjāb. His father was ill in bed when he arrived and died a month later on the 20th of Rabī' ii [A.H. 1227 apparently]. Unwilling to remain in Multān on account of the oppression of the Sik'hs, Nūr al-Dīn returned to Delhi, which he found in a disturbed state owing to the hostility between Farrukh-siyar and S. 'Abd Allāh Khān. After enduring troubles of various kinds for five months he visited the shrine of the Sultān al-Mashāyikh [i.e. Nizām al-Dīn Auliya', for whom see *Ency. Isl.* under Nizām al-Dīn] and, invoking his help, started to write his account of the occurrences in which he had taken part. Already in the time of Bahādur Shāh he had witnessed the official recording of events, and, feeling a strong desire to write history, he had composed a *Jang-nāmah*. Dissatisfied with it, however, he had destroyed it. When Yūsuf Khān was instructed to record the events of Farrukh-siyar's time, Nūr al-Dīn Fārūqī was often in his presence and took much interest in his writing. Yūsuf Khān, however, told him that historiography was better avoided, since it produced only Dead Sea fruit.

*Jahāndār-nāmah*, an account of the struggle between Jahāndār Shāh [Mu'izz al-Dīn, the eldest son of Shāh-Ālam Bahādur Shāh. See *Ency. Isl.* under *Djahāndār Shāh*] and his three brothers after their father's death, his brief reign in the year 1124/1712, his defeat by his nephew Farrukh-siyar and his



death, completed in Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1127/1715: **I.O.** 3988 (probably A.D. 1892).

762. It was at the request of the Qutb al-aqtāb Shāh Shukr Allāh that Sh. M. Mun'im Ja'farābādī wrote his

*Farrukh-nāmah*, a history of the years 1124/1712 and 1125/1713 in eighteen *dāstāns* dealing with the struggles of Bahādur Shāh's sons until the accession of Farrukh-siyar: **Ethé** 388 (A.H. 1128/1716).

763. Khawājah M. Khalīl played an active part in the military events of the period which followed Aurangzēb's death. He displays a strong bias in favour of the Saiyids, Husain 'Alī Khān and 'Abd Allāh Khān.

(*Tārīkh i Shāhanshāhī*),<sup>1</sup> a history of the events following Aurangzēb's death to the beginning of Farrukh-siyar's reign: **Būhār** 79 (18th cent.).

764. Mīr M. Aḥsan "Ījād" served for a time in Gujrāt with the army of Prince M. A'zam and while there made the acquaintance of the poet Mīrzā "Bēdil" and the Naqshbandī saint Shāh Gulshan [for the latter of whom see *Bānkīpūr* viii p. 98]. Subsequently he became *Faujdār* of Etawah. In Bahādur Shāh's reign he entered the service of the Nawwāb Nizām al-Mulk and through him obtained a *manṣab* of 300 under Prince 'Azīm al-Shān. In Farrukh-siyar's reign he was appointed to write a court chronicle. According to the *Dīwān i muntakhab* he died in 1133/1720-1 (according to the *Hamīshah bahār* in 1131/1718-19 or soon after).

(1) *Farrukhsiyar-nāmah*, a prolix and pompous history of Farrukhsiyar's minority and the early years of his reign (to A.H. 1125/1713): **Rieu** i 273a (18th cent.), **I.O.** 3958 foll. 167-210 (extracts only. Late 18th cent.), **Aumer** 265 (2) (the first four of the same extracts = **I.O.** 3958 foll. 167b-193b. Called in the

<sup>1</sup> This title occurs on a fly-leaf. No title is mentioned by the author.



colophon *Tatimmah i Bahādur-Shāh-nāmah*. A.H. 1198/1784), perhaps also **Eton** 193, which is described as a *Farrukhsiyar-nāmah* but of which the author's name is not mentioned in the catalogue, and **Āsafīyah** iii p. 96 no. 1492 (*Tārīkh i Farrukhsiyarī*. Author not stated. Damaged. A.H. 1247/1831-2).

(2) *Tārīkh i futūḥāt i Āsafī*, manẓūm (*Shāh-nāmah i Dakan*), a poem on the events of forty years in India and the conquests of Āsaf-Jāh : **Āsafīyah** iii p. 96 no. 1493 (defective at both ends. A.H. 1133/1720-1).

[**Sarkhwush**, *Kalimāt al-shu'arā'*; *Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 117); *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (cf. **Bānkīpūr** viii p. 95); *Dīwān i muntakhab* (Sprenger p. 149); *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (Bodl. 391 no. 318); *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 210; **Rieu** i 273a.]

765. An author who was serving as *Nā'ib* under 'Ārif Bēg **Khān**, Governor of Lahore, at the time of 'Abd al-Ṣamad **Khān**'s expedition against the Sik'hs wrote in *Farrukhsiyar*'s reign

*An account of Farrukhsiyar's accession and of 'Abd al-Ṣamad Khān's expedition against the Sik'hs* (which ended with the capture and execution of Bandā in 1126), being, according to **Rieu**, a fragment of a larger chronicle : **Rieu** ii 860b (19th cent.).

766. An author at present unidentified wrote

*Naẓm al-mulūk*, a *mathnawī* giving a history of India from the accession of Aurangzēb to the reign of *Farrukhsiyar* and concluding with a record of the honours conferred upon 'Abd al-Ṣamad **Khān**, who is called Saif al-Daulah, a title bestowed upon him in 1127 as a reward for his victory over the Sik'hs and who died as *Ṣūbah-dār* of Multān in 1150 : **Rieu** iii 1056b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

767. The following is catalogued under the heading *Musawwadāt* :

*A detailed history of Delhi*, particulars of the Emperor's movements, lists of *manṣabs*, etc. from the time of Aurangzēb



to that of Farrukh-siyar, with a summary account of preceding reigns : **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (Aug. 1926) p. 58 no. 70).

768. Other works relating to Farrukh-siyar :

(1) Brief account of Farrukh-siyar (beg. : *Farrukh-siyar bād-shāh shudah*) : **Browne** Pers. Cat. 76, **I.O.** 3955.

(2) *Farrukhsiyar-nāmah* : **Eton** 193 (author not stated).

(3) *Tārīkh i Farrukhsiyarī* : **Āsafiyah** iii p. 96 no. 1492 (author not stated. Damaged. A.H. 1247/1831-2).

769. Mirzā **M. b. Mu'tamad Khān** (Rustam), who was born in 1098/1687, has already been mentioned (p. 141 *supra*) as the author of the *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* begun in 1124/1712-13.

(*'Ibrat-nāmah*<sup>1</sup>), memoirs of the author from 1117/1705-6, the year before Aurangzēb's death to the accession of Rafī' al-Darajāt in 1131/1719 : **Bānkipūr** vii 623 (early 19th cent. FULL ANALYSIS), **Ethé** 392, 2834, **I.O.** 3741 (early 19th cent.), 4031 (defective. 19th cent.), **Ivanow** Curzon 699 (begins with A.H. 1118. 19th cent.).

The statement made by **Ethé** (and, presumably on his authority, by 'Abd al-Muqtadir) that "These memoirs were translated by Captain Jonathan Scott 1786" is apparently due to a confusion of the *'Ibrat-nāmah* with the *Tārīkh i Irādat Khān* (for which see p. 602 *supra*).

770. **Kāmraj** son of **Nain-Sing'h** b. **Bindrāban**, a **Saksēnah** **Kāyast'h** and a resident of **Phaphund** (a town 36 m. E. of **Etawah** in the U.P.), calls himself a born servant of **M. A'zam Shāh**, and says that his ancestors for three generations had been in the Imperial service. His father, **Nain-Sing'h**, accompanied **M. A'zam** to **Mālwah** in 1118/1706-7 as *pīsh-dast* in the Imperial artillery.

(1) *A'zam al-ḥarb*, a detailed account of **A'zam Shāh's** brief

<sup>1</sup> The author does not formally give this title to the work, but he speaks of himself from time to time as *rāqim i in 'ibrat-nāmah*. Though not necessarily intended to be the title, it may be accepted as a convenient substitute.



reign (10 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1118/15 March 1707—18 Rabī' i 1119/19 June 1708) : **Rieu** iii 937a (circ. A.D. 1850. Copied from an autograph in the Mōtī Maḥall, Lucknow), iii 1053 (extracts only. From an autograph. Circ. A.D. 1850).

(2) '*Ibrat-nāmah*, a history of India from A.H. 1118/1707 onwards : **Ethé** 391 (*Daftar* i (or parts of it) extending to the accession of M. Shāh A.H. 1131/1719. Copied A.H. 1183/1769).

771. In Aurangzēb's reign **Zōrāwar Sing'h** lived with his father and mother at Ḥaidarābād. At the time when he wrote his *mathnawī* he must have been a wealthy man, since there were not less than two hundred women in his house.

*An account in verse of the downfall and death of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and the appointment of M. Amīn Khān (I'timād al-Daulah) to succeed him as Wazīr* : **Bloch** iii 1927 (ornate MS. Circ. A.D. 1721).

772. A certain "**Rāmī**" wrote

*Majmū'ah i tārīkh i shāhanshāhān*, a concise history from Aurangzēb's death to the fall of the Saiyids : **Lahore** Panjāl Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1226/1812. See *Oriental College Magazine* vol. i no. 4 (Aug. 1926) p. 55).

773. S. M. **Qāsim** "**Ibrat**" Ḥusainī **Lāhaurī** left Lahore, his native place, in 1130/1718 to seek employment at Delhi. He there entered the service of the Amīr al-umarā' S. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān.

'*Ibrat-nāmah*,<sup>1</sup> written in 1135/1722-3, a history of the Timūrids from the death of Aurangzēb to the fall of the Saiyid in 1133/1721 : **Rieu** i 231b (cf. *Rieu's Additions and corrections* p. 1082b ad 231b. Lacks preface. Merges towards the end into the anonymous "*Ṣaḥīfah i iqbal*" (see p. 609 *infra*). Late 18th

<sup>1</sup> The title and the author's name do not occur in the work itself but in an epilogue transcribed from a MS. belonging to Faqīr Nūr al-Dīn Khān and prefixed to the B.M. MS. Or. 1934 (**Rieu** iii 939a).



cent.), 273b (a somewhat abridged recension, beginning . . . *ḥamdy* [sic] *Khudāwand i kārāsāz i ḥaqīqī rā*. Late 18th cent.), iii 939a (19th cent.), 939b (18th cent.), 940a (A.D. 1847), 1008a (merging towards the end into the "*Ṣaḥīfah i iqbal*" (see p. 609 *infra*). A.H. 1230/1815), R.A.S. 109 = Morley 104 (A.H. 1202/1787), *Ethé* 393 (beginning: *Ḥamd i bi-'add u ṭhanāy* [sic] *Khudāwand i kārāsāz i ḥaqīqī rā*. Cf. Rieu 273b. N.d.), I.O. 3934b (merging into the "*Ṣaḥīfah i iqbal*" (see p. 609 *infra*). A.D. 1874), 4045 (A.D. 1895), Lahore Panjāb Univ. Lib. (defective at end. See *Oriental College Magazine* vol. ii no. 4 (Lahore, Aug. 1926) p. 55), probably also Eton 194 ("*Farrukhsiyar-nāmah*", by "Sayyid Kāsim". A.H. 1156).

Description and 2 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* vii pp. 569-73.

[Autobiographical statements (see Rieu i 273).]

774. *Shiv-Dās Lak'hnavi* was for long a *munshī* "in the service of the great".

*Shāh-nāmah i munawwar-kalām*, detached historical narratives and court news (with many official letters and *farmāns*) relating to the reign of Farrukh-siyar and the first four years of Muḥammad Shāh: Rieu i 274a (18th cent.), iii 938b (A.H. 1211/1797), 1049b vi (extract only. Circ. A.D. 1850), Blochet i 604 (end of 18th cent.), Ivanow Curzon 35 (A.H. 1209/1794), Eton 192.

English translation by Lieut. Iltudus T. Prichard: B.M. MS. Add. 30,785.

Descriptions: (1) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii p. 331 ("The work contains a good deal of biography and anecdote"), (2) *The contemporary view of the court of Farrukh Syer* [sic], by A. M. Daula (in *Journal of Indian history* xv/2 (Madras. August 1936) pp. 201-9).

775. Mīr M. Ridā "*Ridā*" Dhū 'l-Faqār was a Saiyid of Safīdūn (a village now in the State of Jīnd). He took part in an expedition under the command of Sharaf al-Daulah Irādat-mand Khān against Rājah Ajit Sing'h, *Ṣubah-dār* of Ajmēr,



who rebelled in the fifth year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign (A.H. 1135/1723. See Elliot and Dowson viii pp. 43-4). At the time when he wrote his poem in the hope that the Emperor's liberality would relieve his urgent need he held a command (? *manṣab*) of 500 men.

*Sharaf-nāmah i Muḥammad Shāh*, a *mathnawī* on the history of Muḥammad Shāh's immediate predecessors (Bahādur Shāh etc.) and the early part of his reign (apparently to the fifth year): Rieu iii 1002 (18th cent.), 1054b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

776. An anonymous author who had access to the court of Muḥammad Shāh wrote

(*Muḥammad-Shāh-nāmah*) or (*Ṣaḥīfah i iqbāl*<sup>1</sup>), detached chapters relating to the fall of the Saiyids and the first fourteen years of M. Shāh's reign "taken from a full history which the author had not yet thought it advisable to publish" (beginning: *Biyā sāqī ai lu'bat i sīnah-ṣāf*): Rieu iii 940a (18th cent.), 1008a (shorn of preamble and written in continuation of a passage towards the end of S. M. Qāsim's *Ibrat-nāmah* (see p. 607 *supra*). A.H. 1230/1815), 1015b (A.D. 1850-1), 1055b viii (short extract only), i 231b (shorn of preamble and written in continuation of a passage towards the end of S. M. Qāsim's *Ibrat-nāmah* (see p. 607 *supra*). Cf. Rieu's Additions and corrections p. 1082b *ad* 231b. Late 18th cent.), Suppt. 80 (with two additional chapters at the beginning. M. Shāh's correspondence with Persia given more fully than in Rieu 940a. 18th cent.), I.O. 3934c (i.e. foll. 213a, l. 4-264b, l. 16. A.H. 1290/1873).

777. M. Qāsim, who is to be distinguished from S. M. Qāsim "Ibrat" Lāhaurī, the author of the *Ibrat-nāmah* (see p. 607 *infra*), was for a time with Shāh-Ālam's sons in Bihār. Subsequently he became *Bakhshī* in the army of Nizām al-Mulk. He

<sup>1</sup> The author refers to the work as *in ṣaḥīfah i iqbāl*. It is not, however, implied thereby that *Ṣaḥīfah i iqbāl* is the title. The author of the *Ālamgīr-nāmah*, e.g., refers to his work as *in ṣaḥīfah i iqbāl* (p. 844<sup>7</sup>). The B.M. MS. Or. 1900 (Rieu iii 940a) is endorsed *Ibrat-nāmah* and *Lubb i tārikh*. In the subscription of Or. 1747 vi (Rieu iii 1015b) it is called *Muḥammad-Shāh-nāmah*.



served under his schoolmate, S. Lashkar Khān, in the operations against the Marāṭ'hā Sōmnā, brother of Appā Rāō. He seems to have been an intimate friend of Mutawassil Khān (d. 1156/1743-4, see Rieu iii 1084a), Nizām al-Mulk's son-in-law, the *Faujdār* of Baglānah.

*Aḥwāl al-khawāqīn*, a history of Aurangzēb's successors to A.H. 1151/1738-9, the date of completion, divided into two parts ((1) from Aurangzēb's death to Farrukh-siyar's deposition, (2) from the accession of Rafī' al-Darajāt, this part being devoted mainly to Nizām al-Mulk's conflict with the Saiyids and his wars with the Marāṭ'hās): Rieu i 276b (18th cent.).

778. Sh. M. Murād b. Sh. Shihāb al-Dīn b. Sh. Shams al-Dīn b. Sh. Sirāj al-Dīn b. Quṭb al-aqṭāb Sh. M. Chishtī<sup>1</sup> is described by James Fraser,<sup>2</sup> who studied under him at Cambay and who mentions him in the preface to his History of Nādir Shāh, as a man famous in those parts for his knowledge of the Muhammadan civil and ecclesiastical laws.

*A history of Aurangzēb and his successors* to the twenty-first year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign A.H. 1151/1738 compiled at the request of James Fraser: Bodleian 262 (probably autograph).

779. M. Shafi "Wārid" b. S. M. Sharīf was born A.H. 1087/1676-7 when his father, who had left Tih-rān and entered first the service of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb-Shāh and subsequently that of Prince Shāh-Ālam (Bahādur Shāh), was governor of Nagīnah.

<sup>1</sup> It appears from the *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī* (Appendix tr. Nawāb 'Alī pp. 65-6) that this Quṭb al-aqṭāb Sh. M. Chishtī was the son of Shaikh M. b. Aḥmad b. Naṣīr al-Dīn Aḥmadābādī known as Shaikh Ḥasan M. Chishtī Aḥmadābādī Gujrātī, who wrote an Arabic commentary on the *Qur'ān* entitled *Tafsīr i Muḥammadī* (Loth 103) and annotations on al-Baidāwī's *tafsīr* and who died A.H. 982/1575 (see Raḥmān 'Alī 214).

<sup>2</sup> b. 1713, resided at Sūrat 1730-40, learnt Sanskrit and Zend, returned to England, became a factor in the E.I.Co.'s service and eventually a Member of Council at Sūrat, died 21.1.1754. His collection of circ. 200 Sanskrit and Zend MSS. is now in the Bodleian (see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* 155).



After his father's death in 1117/1705-6 he served under Prince M. 'Azīm, but soon retired and, supported by the patronage of Bairām Khān<sup>1</sup> (Mīrzā Bāqir afterwards Bāqir Khān), the son of Aurangzēb's general Rūḥ-Allāh Khān, devoted himself to literature.

He was the author of a *dīwān* and four *mathnawīs*, viz. the *Gulistān i nairang*, the *Mir'āt i farrukhī*, the *Chaman i dīdār*, and a *sāqī-nāmah*.

(1) *Mir'āt i wāridāt*, a stilted history of the Indian Tīmūrids to M. Shāh's 16th regnal year, A.H. 1146/1733-4, the date of completion, followed by an account of the battle between Mubārīz al-Mulk Sarbuland Khān and Mahārājah Abhai Singh at Aḥmadābād in 1141/1728-9<sup>2</sup>: **Rieu** i 275b (late 18th cent.), **Bodleian** 424 (apparently the fourth *tabaqah*, completed A.H. 1142/1730 and consisting of (1) a geographical and historical account of certain countries, (2) a short memoir on contemporary Indian history, defective at the beginning, (3) biographies of Indian poets and authors. Lacunæ. N.d.), **Bānkīpūr** vii 580 (part relating to M. Shāh's reign. A.D. 1811), **I.O.** 3881<sup>3</sup> (M. Shāh's reign. Probably A.D. 1885. Transcribed from the Bānkīpūr MS.).

(2) *Tārīkh i Chaghatāy*, apparently a later recension of the preceding work, the preface after a different exordium (which begins *Jahān jahān sitāyish*) agreeing with that of the *Mir'āt i wāridāt* except that the title *Tārīkh i Chaghatāy* is substituted, the latter part of the history being more concise and brought down to Nādir Shāh's departure from India in 1152/1739: **Rieu** iii 924b (A.H. 1217/1802), 925a (transcribed from the preceding A.D. 1852), 1050b (extracts. Circ. A.D. 1850).

<sup>1</sup> d. at Delhi in 1145/1732-3. See **Rieu** iii 1084a, *Tārīkh i Muḥammadī* (presumably under the year 1145), *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 315<sup>15</sup> (where the date is not given).

<sup>2</sup> According to the preface this is only the first of the four *tabaqahs* of which the work was planned to consist (viz. (1) Kings and *amīrs*, (2) *faqīrs*, (3) 'ulamā', (4) poets).

<sup>3</sup> In the colophon of this MS. the work is called *Tārīkh i Chaghatā'i*, but the sixteenth year of the reign is several times spoken of as the current year and the history is not brought down to A.H. 1152.



Description and 3 pp. of translated extracts (relating to M. Shāh's interviews with Nādir Shāh): Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 21-24.

[*Safīnah i Khwushgū* (cf. Bānkīpūr viii p. 111); *Ṣuḥuf i Ibrāhīm*, wāw, no. 78.]

780. **Ānand Rām "Mukhlis"**, son of Rājah Hirdē Rām, K'hatri Lāhaurī,<sup>1</sup> is described by "Shafīq" (*Gul i ra'nā*, Bānkīpūr viii p. 132) as the most eminent of all the Hindu poets [sc. who wrote in Persian]. He was a pupil of "Bēdil" and a friend of "Ārzū". In 1132/1719-20 he was appointed *Wakīl*<sup>2</sup> for Nawwāb I'timād al-Daulah Qamar al-Dīn Khān (Muḥammad Shāh's *Wazīr*). He was also *Wakīl* for 'Abd al-Ṣamad Khān, *Nāẓim* of the *ṣūbah* of Lahore and Multān, and had the title of *Rāy-Rāyān*. He died at Delhi in 1164/1751.

In addition to his *Dīwān* (for which see Ethé 1707, Nadhīr Aḥmad 194 (Rāmpūr)) he is the author of (1) *Ruqa'āt i Mukhlis*, a collection of his own letters redacted in 1149/1736-7 (MSS. Panjab Univ. Lib. (see *Or. Coll. Mag.* vi no. 4 (Aug. 1930) p. 99), Bānkīpūr ix 882 i [?], I.O. 3981), (2) *Mir'āt al-iṣṭilāḥ*, a dictionary of poetical phrases and proverbial sentences<sup>3</sup> completed in 1157/1744 (MSS. Rieu iii 997, Bānkīpūr ix 810), (3) *Parī-khānah*, an introduction written in 1144/1731-2 to an album of calligraphic specimens and drawings (MSS. Bānkīpūr ix 882 ii, Ivanow Curzon 156), (4) a long letter written by order of Muḥammad Shāh to a Ṣafawid king on the latter's accession to the throne (MSS. Bānkīpūr ix 882 iii, Ivanow Curzon 156, I.O. D.P. 491 (e)), (5) *Chamanistān* written in 1159/1746, a collection of anecdotes,

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Khizānah i 'āmirah* the home of his family was Sōd'harah "az tawabī i Lāhaur", i.e. apparently Sohdera (as it is spelt in the *List of Indian post offices*), near Wazīrābād.

<sup>2</sup> In accordance with the Indian custom by which, according to the *Khizānah i 'āmirah*, amīrs used to have representatives at court (*Dābiṭah i Hind ast kih dar darbār i salāṭīn az umarū' i ghā'ib u ḥādīr wukalā mī-bāshand*).

<sup>3</sup> "In the *Mir'āt ul-Iṣṭilāḥāt* [sic] the author gives incidentally various historical notices relating to the Dehli court and to celebrated contemporaries" (Rieu iii 997b).



accounts of some contemporaries, descriptions of trees, flowers and fruits, admonitions, witty sayings etc. (Edition : Lucknow 1877<sup>o</sup>\*. MSS. Bānkīpūr ix 882 iv, Ivanow Curzon 156 [?]), (6) *Hangāmāh i ‘ishq*, written in 1152/1739-40, the love-story of Kunwar Sundar Sēn, of the Karnātak, and Rānī Chand Parbhā (MS. Bānkīpūr ix 882 v), (7) *Kār-nāmāh i ‘ishq*, written in 1144/1731-2, the love-story of Prince Gauhar of China and Princess Mamlakat (MSS. I.O. Johnson Album 38 (beautifully illustrated), Bānkīpūr ix 882 vi), (8) *Intikhāb i Tuhfah i Sāmī*, an abridgment of Sām Mīrzā’s *tadhkirah* (MS. I.O. DP. 718).

(9) *Tadhkirah i Ānand-Rām “Mukhlis”*, a history of the war of Muḥammad Shāh with Nādir Shāh : ‘**Aligarh**’ (see Irvine *Later Mughals* ii p. 380).

Description and 22 pp. of translated extracts<sup>1</sup> : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 76-98 (from a MS. belonging to Nawwāb Diyā’ al-Dīn).

(10) *Account of a journey from Delhi to Muktesar* in 1150/1737 : **Ethé** 2724, **Rāmpūr** (see Nadhīr Aḥmad 61).

English translation : *Garh Muktesar Fair in 1747 ; or, A thirteen days’ trip. Translated by William Irvine* (in *The Indian Magazine and Review*, 1903 pp. 66-71, 102-6, 116-21, 151-6, 169-72).

[*Hamīshah bahār* (Sprenger p. 129) ; *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 113) ; *Muntakhab al-ash‘ār* (Bodl. 379) no. 656 ; *Riyād al-shu‘arā’* ; *Majma‘ al-nafā’is* ; *Nikāt al-shu‘arā’* (cf. Sprenger p. 262) ; *Maqālāt al-shu‘arā’* (Sprenger p. 159) ; *Khizānah i ‘āmirah* pp. 425-6 (Bodl. 381 no. 115) ; *Jām i jahān-numā* by Mahārat Khān ; *Gul i ra’nā* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 132) ; *Iqd i Thuraiyā* (Bānkīpūr viii no. 709 fol. 60a) ; *Makhzan al-gharā’ib* no. 2683 ; *Safīnah i Hindī* (Bānkīpūr viii no. 715 fol. 77b) ; *Nishtar i ‘ishq* (one of the sources used by S. M. ‘Abd Allāh in his article mentioned below) ; *Natā’ij al-afkār* ; Garcin de Tassy ii p. 376 ; Nizāmī Badāyūnī

<sup>1</sup> The translator was “I. Perkins”.



*Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (in Urdu) ii p. 207 ; *Anand Rām* “*Mukhlis*” (an Urdu article by S. M. ‘Abd Allāh in the *Oriental College Magazine* v no. 2 (Lahore, Feb. 1929) pp. 46-66).]

781. In the 22nd year of Muḥammad Shāh, A.H. 1153/1740-1, was composed

*A sketch (51 foll.) of the first 22 years of M. Shāh’s reign especially Nādir Shāh’s campaign in India and the doings of Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf-Jāh* (beg. : *Dar bayān i talab i Nizām al-Mulk ? . . . chūn dar muhimmāt i saltanat khidw i qadar-qudrat . . .*) : Blochet i 612 (latter half of 18th cent.).

782. It was in 1153/1740-1 at the request of Shaikh ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, an old associate of the Amīr al-umarā’ (Khawājah M. ‘Āṣim) Ṣamsām al-Daulah Khān i Daurān (the commander defeated by Nādir Shāh at Karnāl), that M. Muḥsin b. al-Ḥanīf Ṣiddīqī, a native of Bijnaur, wrote his

*Jauhar i ṣamsām*, a wordy and hyperbolic account of Nādir Shāh’s invasion, based on information received from Sh. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, with a brief history of Aurangzēb’s successors : Browne Suppt. 364 (King’s 132), Ivanow 2nd Suppt. 929 (A.H. 1224/1809), Rieu iii 941 (circ. A.D. 1850).

Abridged translation by Major A. R. Fuller : B.M. MS. Add. 30,724, foll. 1-80.

Description and 3 pp. of extracts from Fuller’s translation : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 72-5.

783. An anonymous dependent of Ṣamsām al-Daulah Khān i Daurān wrote

(*Risālah i Muḥammad Shāh u Khān i Daurān*), a turgid, fulsome and historically unimportant account of the life and times of Ṣamsām al-Daulah Khān i Daurān (Khawājah M. ‘Āṣim, who was a trusted official with a command of 7,000 in Farrukhsiyar’s reign, was appointed Amīr al-umarā’ by Muḥammad Shāh after the fall of the Saiyids and in 1151/1739 was in command



against Nādir Shāh at Karnāl, where he received a fatal wound. See *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i 819-23) : **Browne** Suppt. 675 (A.H. 1199/1784-5), **Rieu** i 277b (A.H. 1202/1788), iii 941a (A.H. 1262/1846).

784. Sh. M. 'Alī "Ḥazīn" Lāhijī Jilānī was born at Isfahān in 1103/1692 and died at Benares in 1180/1766 (for further information see the section BIOGRAPHY : POETS).

(1) (*Tadhkirat al-aḥwāl*), an autobiography written in 1154/1741 and containing a good deal of historical information about the Afghān invasion of Persia and Nādir Shāh's invasion of India (for MSS. and editions see the section BIOGRAPHY : POETS).

(2) *Wāqi'āt i Īrān u Hind*, on events in Persia and India from 1134/1722 to 1154/1741, beginning *al-Ḥamdu li-walīyihī* (probably the same as no. (1)) : **Ethé** 1714 (A.H. 1183/1769).

(3) A short note on the Persian invasions of India, completed at Ḥusainābād in 1180 and beginning *Muwāfiq i siyar i mu'tabarah dafa'ātī kih lashkar i Īrān ba-Sind u Hind dar āmadah* : **Berlin** p. 54 no. 11, **Ivanow** 1749, **Bānkipūr** Suppt. ii 2240 (19th cent.).

785. A Persian who went to India and entered the service of Ṣafdar-Jang wrote

(1) *A poem on Nādir Shāh's invasion* : **Blochét** iii 1931 (defective at end. Mid 18th cent.).

(2) *A poem on Muḥammad Shāh's operations against the Marāṭhās or Rōhēlahs or both*<sup>1</sup> after Nādir Shāh's departure from India : **Blochét** iii 1931 (mid 18th cent.).

(3) *Fath-nāmah i Ṣafdarī*, completed in 1155/1742, a poem on the operations of Sa'ādat Khān and Ṣafdar-Jang against the Marāṭhās : **Blochét** iii 1931 (mid 18th cent.).

<sup>1</sup> "la guerre des Maharattes du Rohilla [sic] contre Mohammed Shah . . . après la retraite de Nadir Shah . . . l'histoire commence, au folio 16 recto, avec le recit de la guerre que Bhakount [? Bhagwant] fit à Djansar [? Jān-nithār] Khan, et de la mort de ce personnage, après lequel vient l'histoire de la lutte que Mohammed Shah soutint contre Bhakount."



(4) *A poem on Ṣafdar-Jang's return from the war against the Marāṭhās and on Muḥammad Shāh's operations against Rājah Nawal* : Blochet iii 1931 (mid 18th cent.).

786. Mīrzā **Muḥammad-Bakhsh** "**Āshōb**" b. M. **Ghiyāth** was born at Delhi in **Sha'bān** 1128/1716, the fourth year of Farrukh-siyar's reign. After his father's death he was brought up by his maternal uncle Mīrzā M. b. Rustam (for whom see pp. 141 and 606 *supra*) and his grandfather 'Ināyat Allāh Bēg entitled Qaswar **Khān**. He entered the service of Muḥammad Shāh and remained in it until Nādir Shāh's invasion (A.H. 1151/1738). Then for some years he served the Wazīr I'timād al-Daulah Qamar al-Dīn **Khān** (killed A.H. 1161/1748 at the Battle of Sirhind) and his sons the Khān i **Khānān** Intizām al-Daulah (d. 1167/1753-4) and Mu'in al-Mulk, distinguishing himself in the operations against Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī and in the contest of the **Khān** i **Khānān** against Ṣafdar-Jang. Then for fifteen years he served the Wazīr 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-Dīn **Khān** as *Mīr Munshī* and in other capacities. Serious ill-health having caused him to sever his connexion with 'Imād al-Mulk he lived successively at Farrukhābād, where he was ill for a year, and for some troubled years at Lucknow, Fyzabad and Allahabad. Then Āṣaf al-Daulah invited him to enter his service and leaving Farrukhābād for Lucknow and Fyzabad he enjoyed prosperity for five or six years. Subsequently he was for a short time in the service of Richard Johnson (for whom he copied the I.O. MS. Ethé 224 in 1194/1780) and in 1196/1782 at the invitation of Jonathan Scott, whom he had met at Colonel Polier's house at Lucknow, he went to Allahabad in order to write his history of Muḥammad Shāh. According to the *Khulāṣat al-afkār* he died in poverty at Lucknow in 1199/1784-5.

He wrote a considerable amount of poetry, including (1) *Ṣaulat i Fārūqī* or *Futūḥ al-Islām fī bilād al-Rūm wa-l-Shām*, a *mathnawī* based on the Pseudo-Wāqidī and planned to consist of three volumes but probably never continued beyond the second,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only two volumes had been completed when he wrote his autobiography.



which was completed in 1160/1747<sup>1</sup> (MSS. : I.O. 3940 (vol. i of the *Kullīyāt*), Lindesiana p. 192 no. 783, Bānkīpūr Suppt. i no. 1801 (vol. i only) and doubtless also Bānkīpūr iii no. 420 (*Kullīyāt i Āshōb*, much disarranged). Edition : A'zamgarh 1252/1836-7 (see *Qāmūs al-a'lām* i col. 45).

(2) A *dīwān*, for which see Sprenger p. 342 no. 115, Bānkīpūr iii no. 420 (*Kullīyāt*), Browne Suppt. 499.

(3) *Kār-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* on the war against Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, which terminated in 1162/1749 : **Ivanow** Curzon 302.

(4) *Falak-āshūb*, written at Bharatpūr, a historical compendium in 700 distichs ending with the death of Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān (A.H. 1188/1774) : **Eton** 142.

(5) (*Sawāniḥ i aḥwāl i Āshōb*),<sup>2</sup> a short and almost dateless autobiography written towards the end of his life : **I.O.** 3940 foll. 1-9a (early 19th cent.), 4034 (A.D. 1888), 3938 (A.D. 1892).

(6) *Tārīkh i shahādat i Farrukh-siyar u julūs i Muḥammad Shāh*, written in 1196/1782, a valuable but chronologically unprecise account of the life and reign of Muḥammad Shāh, apparently intended to come down to the date of composition but probably never finished, since the B.M. and I.O. copies end with the death of Nādir Shāh, A.H. 1160/1747 : **Rieu** iii 944a (A.H. 1199/1785), 1051b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Ethé** 422 (A.H. 1200/1786), **Browne** Suppt. 239 (King's 94).

Description and a translated extract (1 p.) : **Elliot and Dowson** *History of India* viii 232-4.

[Autobiography (see above) ; *Tārīkh i shahādat i Farrukh-siyar*, preface and elsewhere ; *Khulāṣat al-afkār* (Bodl. 391 no. 479) ; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 153 (?) ; **Beale** *Oriental*

<sup>1</sup> According to a statement at the end of the table of contents in Bānkīpūr Suppt. i no. 1801.

<sup>2</sup> The author does not give this work any formal title, but he refers to it as *Sawāniḥ i aḥwāl* in some words prefixed to the *ghazals* which follow it in the I.O. MS. 3940 (*Chūn az taqrīr u tahrīr i sawāniḥ i aḥwāl farūghat dast dād*).



*biographical dictionary*; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 232; Rieu iii 944; Bānkīpūr iii p. 247; S. Shams Allāh Qādirī *Qāmūs al-a'lām* (in Urdu) i (Haidarābād 1935) coll. 44-5.]

787. For further information concerning works dealing with **Nādir Shāh** and his invasion of India see pp. 322-29 *supra*. In addition the following works and fragments may be mentioned:

(1) A criticism of the actions of Muḥammad Shāh and his Amīrs, especially **Khān** i Daurān, at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion, beginning *Kaifīyat i saltanat i mulk i Hindūstān*: **Ivanow** Curzon 36 (A.H. 1241/1826).

(2) Fragment relating to Nādir Shāh's invasion: **Rieu** iii 1050b (circ. A.D. 1850).

(3) *Hālāt i Nādir Shāh*, a very short (9 foll.) account of Nādir Shāh's invasion in Persian prose interspersed with Hindī verses, written in Samwat 1795 [A.D. 1738] by Amar, a resident of **Chandēri**: **I.O.** 4008 (probably A.D. 1896).

(4) *Tārīkh i ḥamlah i Nādirī*, apparently an extract from some history: **Āṣafīyah** i p. 224 no. 544.

788. **Sh. Ḥusām Allāh** wrote in 1161/1746

*Fath-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* on Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's [first] invasion<sup>1</sup>: **Bloch** iii 1934 (late 18th cent.).

789. It was for Mu'īn al-Mulk<sup>2</sup> that **Ghulām-Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Khān**<sup>3</sup> wrote his

*Zafar-nāmah*, an account of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's [first?] invasion: **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 56).

790. Other works relating to Muḥammad Shāh:

<sup>1</sup> For Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's later invasions see pp. 620-1 *infra* and also pp. 397-9 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Called Mīr Mannū, son of I'timād al-Daulah Qamar al-Dīn **Khān** and *Ṣubah-dār* of Lahore and Multān, d. Muḥarram 1167/1753 (see Rieu i p. 279b).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly identical with the author of the *Futūḥāt-nāmah i Ṣamadī* (see p. 664 *infra*).



(1) Concise history of Hindūstān from the birth of Aurangzēb to the time of M. Shāh : **R.A.S.** P. 345 (1) = Morley 100.

(2) *Diary of events in the last few years of M. Shāh's reign* from 18 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1159/2 December 1746 to 11 Jumādā ii 1161/8 June 1748, by an anonymous eye-witness (beg. : *Chūn az būqalamūn-hā i rūzgār*) : **Ethé** 410 (perhaps incomplete. Autograph?).

(3) *Extract relating to M. Shāh's reign*, especially the inroads of the Marāṭ'hās and Nādir Shāh's invasion, the last date mentioned being A.H. 1157, the twenty-fifth regnal year (beginning *Dhikr i takhallul dar šūbajāt i mamālik i mahrūsah*) : **Rieu** iii 1008b iii (A.H. 1230/1815), **I.O.** 3934d (i.e. foll. 264b–272b. A.H. 1290/1873).

(4) *Istīṣāl i Sādāt i Bārhaḥ*, a long letter describing the downfall of the Saiyids Ḥusain 'Alī Khān and 'Abd Allāh Khān said to have been written by order of Muḥammad Shāh in answer to a letter from "Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, Ruler of Īrān", i.e. Shāh Ṭahmāsp II (A.H. 1135/1722–1144/1731), with a preface in which Munawwar 'Alī Khān says that he obtained the disarranged sheets of the letter from the library of "the late Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū" [who died in 1169/1756. See **Rieu** ii 501–2, etc.] and, having arranged them in proper order, gave it the title mentioned above : **I.O.** 4002 (A.D. 1894?).

(5) Lists of *Wakīls* (or *Wazīrs*), *Dīwāns*, *Mīr Bakhshīs* etc. from the reign of Akbar to that of M. Shāh : **Rieu** iii 926a (19th cent.).

(6) *Muḥammad-Shāh-nāmah* : **Eton** 195 (author not stated in the catalogue).

(7) *Nādir al-zamānī*, or *Tārīkh i Muḥammad-Shāhī*, by Khwush-hāl Chand : see pp. 136–7 *supra*.

(8) *Tārīkh i Muḥammad-Shāhī*, by Ghulām-Ḥusain b. Hidāyat 'Alī Khān<sup>1</sup> : **Āṣafīyah** i p. 230 nos. 512 (A.H. 1210, 1795–6), 759 (A.H. 1231/1816).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 625 *infra*. This work, if it is not merely a part of the *Siyar al muta'akhkhirīn*, does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.



(9) *Tārīkh i Muḥammad-Shāhī*, or *Nādir al-zamānī*, by Khwush-hāl Chānd : see pp. 136-7 *supra*.

791. **Ghulām-Hasan** "**Thamīn**" Ṣiddīqī Farshūrī **Bilgrāmī** was for some years associated with S. M. Ṣāliḥ "**Saiyāḥ**", entitled **Shēr-andāz Khān**, an employee (*naukar*) of Nawwāb Ṣafdar-Jang (*chānd sāl ba-hamrāhī i . . . S. M. Ṣāliḥ . . . būdam*, I.O. 3958, fol. 140a, l. 6). In 1169/1755-6 the Saiyid left **Shujā'** al-Daulah [Ṣafdar-Jang's successor as *Nawwāb-Wazīr* of Oudh], and, with **Ghulām-Hasan**, entered the service of Aḥmad **Khān** Bangash at Farrukhābād. In 1173/1759-60 **Ghulām-Hasan** was in the employ of Nawwāb Sa'd Allāh **Khān** b. 'Alī M. **Khān** Rōhēlah. In 1197/1783 at the instigation of his friend ("*mushfiqī*") **Sh.** Allāh-Yār Bahādur b. **Sh.** Allāh-Yār *shahīd* (for whom see pp. 142-3 *supra*) he went to Allahabad and met Captain Jonathan Scott [**Sh.** Allāh-Yār's employer]. In the same year at Captain Scott's request he wrote his account of Aḥmad **Shāh** Abdālī's invasion. His *Sharā'if i 'Uthmānī*, a history of the 'Uthmānī clan of Bilgrām, was begun in 1159/1746 (MSS.: I.O. 3913a, Ivanow 277).

(*Ba'dī az aḥwāl i Aḥmad Shāh Bādshāh Abdālī*), an account of Aḥmad **Shāh**'s third invasion in 1169/1755-6 [as the author says, but actually in 1170/1756-7] written in 1197/1783 : I.O. 3958 foll. 139-66 (late 18th cent.).

[Autobiographical statements in the account of Aḥmad **Shāh**'s invasion.]

792. Other works relating to Aḥmad **Shāh** Durrānī's invasions :

(1) *Aḥmad-nāmah*, a more or less metrical account completed on 20 Jumādā i A.H. 1184/1770 by 'Abd al-Laṭīf "**Laṭīf**", of K'hark'haudah [in the Rohtak division of the Panjāb] : I.O. 3964 (18th cent.).

(2) *Aḥwāl i Bhāō Marhaṭṭah u sabab i āmadan i ū ba-Hindūstān u kushtah shudan i ū bā tamām ham-rāhiyān dar muḥārabah i Aḥmad Shāh i Abdālī bah hudūd i Pānī-pat* : **Ethé** 527 (12)-(13) (2 copies, one dated A.H. 1197/1783).



(3) *Kār-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* on the war against Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī which terminated in 1162/1749 by Mīrzā Muḥammad-Bakhsh "Āshōb", who died at Lucknow in 1199/1784-5 (see pp. 616-18 *supra*): Ivanow Curzon 302 (18th cent.).

A number of works relating to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's invasions have already been mentioned on pp. 397-9 *supra*. Cf. also pp. 761-5 *infra* and Jadunath Sarkar *An original account of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's campaigns in India and the battle of Panipat (from the Persian life of Najib-ud-daulah, British Museum Persian MS. 24,410) in Islamic culture* vii/3 (July 1933) pp. 431-56. For the Persian life of Najib al-Daulah see p. 694 *infra*.

793. A contemporary resident of Delhi wrote the

*Tārīkh i Aḥmad-Shāhī* (beginning, without preface in the B.M. MS.: *Chun zuhūr i har umūr i 'uzmā*), a detailed history of Aḥmad Shāh (reigned 1161/1748-1167/1754, d. 1188/1775): Rieu iii 941b (A.H. 1267/1851).

English translation (omitting the last quarter of the work) by Sir D. Forsyth: B.M. MS. Add. 30,783.

Extracts from this translation: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 104-23.

794. M. 'Alī Khān Anṣārī has already been mentioned as the author of the general history *Baḥr al-mawwāj* completed according to the preface in 1209/1794-5 but in fact extending to 1211/1796 (see p. 144 *supra*) and of the *Tārīkh i Muẓaffarī*, a history of the Indian Tīmūrids composed originally in 1202/1787-8 but subsequently continued to 1225/1810 (see p. 522 *supra*).

*Tārīkh i Aḥmad-Shāhī*, a short history of Aḥmad Shāh written in 1196/1782: Ethé 423 (autograph?).

795. Shākir Khān was the fourth son of Shams al-Daulah Luṭf Allāh Khān Ṣādiq (*Khān-sāmān* to Muḥammad Shāh, see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii 177-8) and a brother of 'Ināyat Khān "Rāsikh". At the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion he was *Bakhshī* in the *Risālah i Sultānī*. When Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī sacked



Delhi in 1170/1756, he escaped to Benares. Having failed to obtain the support of Mīr Qāsim, he sought the protection of British officials.

*Tārīkh i Shākir-Khānī*, a dateless, unprecise and disorderly history of Muḥammad Shāh and his successors down to the beginning of Shāh-‘Ālam’s reign: **Rieu** i 279b (18th cent.), **I.O.** 3973 (defective. Circ. A.D. 1884).

796. Of unknown authorship is the

(*Tārīkh i ‘Ālamgīr i Thānī*), a very full record of the reign of ‘Ālamgīr II (A.H. 1167/1754–1173/1759): **Rieu** iii 942b (circ. A.D. 1850), **Lindesiana** p. 244 no. 873 (apparently. Circ. A.D. 1790).

Description and 3 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 140–3.

797. ‘Abd al-Qādir **Khān**, commonly called (‘urf) **Ghulām-Qādir Khān**,<sup>1</sup> **Jā’isī**<sup>2</sup> was the son of Maulawī Wāṣil ‘Alī **Khān**, *Qādī ‘l-Qudāt* of Bengal. In his youth he enjoyed the society of two well-known historians, ‘Alī Ibrāhīm **Khān** (who was Chief Magistrate<sup>3</sup> at Benares and who died there in 1208/1793–4. See p. 700 *infra*) and S. Ghulām-Husain **Khān** (for whom see pp. 625–40 *infra*). Jonathan Duncan (who was Resident at Benares from 1788 to 1795) sent him more than once on political missions to Nēpāl and, according to his own statement in the *Hashmat i Kashmīr*, his reports were submitted to Col. Kirkpatrick, translated and printed. Rieu adds that he is mentioned as a member of the 1793 mission by Col. W. Kirkpatrick in *An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul. Observations made during a mission to that country in 1793*, pp. xi and 367.

At the time when Wazīr ‘Alī **Khān**, *Nawwāb-Wazīr* of Oudh,

<sup>1</sup> He is called Maulawī Ghulām-Qādir **Khān** **Jā’isī** in the *‘Imād al-sa’adat* p. 165 ult. ‘Abd al-Qādir himself mentions the ‘urfī nām in the *Tārīkh i ‘Imād al-Mulk* but not in the *Hashmat i Kashmīr*.

<sup>2</sup> **Jā’isī** is an old town in the Rāy Barēli District.

<sup>3</sup> “Daroga” of the Court at Benares, that is, President of the tribunal there, in the time of Warren Hastings’ Governorship (*Buckland Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 10).



was deposed in favour of Sa'adat-'Alī Khān [A.H. 1212/Jan. 1798] 'Abd al-Qādir Khān was *rafīq* (presumably meaning "personal assistant" or the like) to John Lumsden, Resident at Lucknow, and conveyed to Wazīr 'Alī Khān the announcement of his deposition [*Imād al-sa'adat* p. 165 ult.].

He was for a time in the service of Mahārājah Amrit Rāō, who by order of the Governor-General Marquess Wellesley [and therefore not earlier than 1798, since Lord Wellesley was Governor-General from May 1798 to July 1805] took up his residence in Benares. Through the influence of the British Agent, Hashmat al-Daulah Wm. Augustus Brooke, 'Abd al-Qādir's personal *jāgīr* was made hereditary, and to him he dedicated the *Hashmat i Kashmīr*, a history of Kashmīr completed at Benares in 1245/1830 (see p. 685 *infra*).

In Jumādā i 1250/1834 Mr [or rather Captain] Thoresby [Superintendent of the Sanskrit College at Benares] suggested that he should make a search for a biography of the Nawwāb Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān 'Imād al-Mulk written during a visit to Benares by one of the Nawwāb's confidants (*mutawassilān*). 'Abd al-Qādir Khān replied that, although for nearly fifty years he had been living at Benares in the Aiwān i Dārā-Shukōh, which at that time (*al-hāl*) was known as the Hawēlī Rājah Shitāb Rāy or 'Adālat i Qadīmah, he had never seen such a person or heard of his book. He would, however, himself write a life of the Nawwāb 'Imād al-Mulk.

(*Tārīkh i 'Imād al-Mulk*), a history of 'Imād al-Mulk Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān Firōz-Jang, the Wazīr of Ahmad Shāh (reigned A.H. 1161/1748–1167/1754) and 'Ālamgīr II (reigned A.H. 1167/1754–1173/1759), based partly on oral information from various persons including the Nawwāb himself, who had recounted to the author at Kālpī some of the events of his life, and also on written sources such as the Nawwāb's letters (*khutūt*), the *Tārīkh i Shujā'i* of Harcharandās and the *Hadīqat al-aqālīm* of Sh. Ilāh-Yār Bilgrāmī (see p. 142 *supra*): **Bānkīpūr** vii 615 (19th cent.), I.O. 4000 (A.D. 1892. Apparently transcribed by the same copyist as the Bānkīpūr MS.), 4001 (abridged. Late 19th cent.).



[*Ḥashmat i Kashmīr*, preface (see Rieu iii 1016a); *Tārīkh i 'Imād al-Mulk*, preface; W. Kirkpatrick *An account of the Kingdom of Nepaul* pp. xi, 367; *'Imād al-sa'adat* p. 165 ult.-166<sup>6</sup>; S. 'Ābid Ḥusain *Tārīkh i Jā'is* p. 14.]

798. **M. Ṣālih "Quadrat"** is, according to the colophon of the Bānkīpūr manuscript, the author of the *Tārīkh i 'ālī fī silk al-la'ālī*.

(1) *Tārīkh i 'ālī fī silk al-la'ālī*, written at the request of James Brown, a history (without dates) of Aurangzēb's successors from Bahādur Shāh to Shāh-'Ālam II, the account of the last reign being only summary and ending with Visvāsa Rāō's death in 1174/1760: **Bānkīpūr** vii 581 (A.D. 1785), **Browne** Suppt. 242 (A.H. 1199/1784-5. King's 73).

(2) *Najaf-nāmah*, a poem (unfinished?) in the *ramal* metre narrating the victorious operations of Nawwāb Dhū 'l-Faqār al-Daulah Najaf Khān against the *T'hānah-dār* of Maidān K'harī, against Chāndū, *Faujdār* of Kōl and the Jāt Rājah Nawal Sing'h in the fifteenth year of Shāh-'Ālam, A.H. 1187/1774: **I.O.** D.P. 1277 (18th cent.).

799. **Mīrzā Jawān-bakht**,<sup>1</sup> afterwards known as Jahāndār Shāh, was the eldest son of Shāh-'Ālam. He was appointed Regent by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī in 1761 after the battle of Pānīpat, and administered the empire until his father's restoration in 1771. In April 1784, on account of the unsettled affairs of his father, he escaped from Delhi and went to Lucknow. From there he accompanied Warren Hastings to Benares, where he lived the rest of his life and died on 31 May 1788.

*Account of his own escape from Delhi*, written at the request of Warren Hastings: no MSS. recorded.

<sup>1</sup> "The same prince, who, in the year 1784, made his escape from Dhely, and threw himself on the protection of Mr. Hastings; who by his influence with the vizier, obtained for him an allowance of forty thousand pounds per annum. On his death a liberal share of this pension was continued to his women and family, who yet reside at Banaras, under the English protection" (*Ferishta's History of Dekkan . . . By Jonathan Scott*, vol. ii p. 241 n.). For his life see W. Francklin *History of Shah Aulum*, pp. 154-62, Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary*, pp. 190-1, etc.



English translation by Jonathan Scott: *Memoir relative to the state of India . . . by Warren Hastings*, London 1786\*, pp. 163-96.

800. **Tahmās Khān**, born near Bāyazīd in Asia Minor, was captured as an infant by Nādir Shāh's Uzbaks. Some years later he was taken by his Uzbek master to India, where he served in the army of Mu'in al-mulk (d. 1167/1753-4), the *Ṣūbah-dār* of Lahore. After a period in the service of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, who created him a **Khān**, he returned to India and served successively under Dābiṭah **Khān** and Najaf **Khān** at Delhi. At the time when he wrote his *Tahmās-nāmah* he was living at Delhi in great affluence, and had received from Shāh-'Ālam the title of Muḥkim al-Daulah **Tahmās Khān** I'tiqād-Jang. He mentions that he had previously written a sketch of his life in Turkī and a Turkī manual entitled *Aḥmad-nāmah*. The Urdu poet "Rangīn" was a son of his.

(*Tahmās-nāmah*), discursive memoirs of his own life and an account of contemporary events written for his children and completed in 1193/1779: **Rieu** iii 980b (18th cent.).

Description: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii p. 100.

801. The precise subject of the *Waqā'i' i Shujā'i* is not clear from the Eton catalogue, but it may be mentioned here since it can scarcely be entirely irrelevant.

*Waqā'i' i Shujā'i*, "History written for Shujā' al-daulah, ending about 1193. Preface, three books and conclusion" <sup>1</sup>: **Eton** 197.

802. Nawwāb <sup>2</sup> S. **Ghulām-Husain Khān Tabāṭabā'i** Ḥasanī was born at Shāhjahanābād, i.e. Delhi, the home of his ancestors for some generations, <sup>3</sup> in 1140/1727-8 (*Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*,

<sup>1</sup> Shujā' al-Daulah, Nawwāb-Wazīr of Oudh, died on 29 January 1775 (i.e. 27 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1188).

<sup>2</sup> So according to the title-pages of the Calcutta edition: on the title-page and in the publisher's colophon of the Lucknow edition he is called Munshī S. Ghulām-Husain **Khān**.

<sup>3</sup> *Tawallud i faqīr u maskīn i ābā u ajdād i pidarī u mādarī dār al-khilāfah Shāhjahanābād ast* (S. al-m. iii p. 948<sup>11</sup>).



Lucknow 1866, iii p. 948<sup>21-22</sup>, Raymond's trans., reprint Calcutta 1926, iv p. 88). In his fifth year under stress of poverty ('*usrat zūr āward*, *S. al-m.* iii p. 948<sup>23</sup>) his mother's grandmother, a paternal aunt of 'Alī-Wirdī Khān Mahābat-Jang,<sup>1</sup> sold her house at Delhi and took Ghulām-Husain, his father and mother and some other relations to Murshidābād, where, according to Ghulām-Husain, 'Alī-Wirdī Khān was then living<sup>2</sup> in the service of Shujā' al-Daulah, the Nāẓim of Bengal (*S. al-m.* iii p. 948<sup>23-25</sup>, trans. iv p. 88). When 'Alī-Wirdī Khān was appointed Governor of the province of 'Azīmābād, Ghulām-Husain's father, S. Hidāyat-'Alī Khān, accompanied him<sup>3</sup> and made the town of 'Azīmābād (i.e. Patna) his home (*Ba'd i chand rūz Mahābat-Jang ba-yāwarī-yi iqbal nizāmat i shūbah i 'Azīmābād yāft wālid i marhūm ba-rafāqat i ū dar baldah i madhkūrah rasidah tawattun guzīd*, *S. al-m.* iii p. 948<sup>25-26</sup>, trans. (1926) iv p. 88). S. Hidāyat-'Alī Khān prospered at 'Azīmābād and eventually became Nā'ib of the province<sup>4</sup> (*S. al-m.* ii p. 522<sup>18</sup>: *wālid i faqīr rā kih nā'ib i shūbah i 'Azīmābād būd*). The houses and estates acquired by him were still in the possession of Ghulām-Husain, his eldest son, in 1195/1781, when he was writing the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn* (*az-ān zamān ilā 'l-ān kih sāl i nawad u panjum az mi'ah i duwāzdahum i Hijrat ast dar-īn makān*

<sup>1</sup> *S. al-m.* iii p. 948<sup>19</sup>: *juddah i mādar i faqīr 'ammah i Mahābat-Jang*. 'Alī-Wirdī Khān was not a Bengali, but went to Bengal from Delhi.

<sup>2</sup> If, as is usually stated, 'Alī-Wirdī Khān became Governor of 'Azīmābād in 1729, it seems unlikely that he was living at Murshidābād when Ghulām-Husain, born in 1140/1727-8, was in his fifth year.

<sup>3</sup> If 'Alī-Wirdī Khān became Governor of Bihār in 1729 (see the preceding note), and if Ghulām-Husain, born in 1140/1727-8, was in his fifth year when he and his father went to Murshidābād, it follows that his father must have settled in 'Azīmābād some years after 'Alī-Wirdī Khān became Governor. Evidently some of the facts or the dates given by Ghulām-Husain are inaccurate.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently only for a short time. He was holding this office when Šafdar-Jang went to 'Azīmābād towards the end of 1155/1742. In the next year he left Haibat-Jang's service and went to Delhi. He had previously been *Bakhshī* of Haibat-Jang's army (*S. al-m.* ii p. 500<sup>1</sup>, trans. (1926) i p. 358) and *Faujdar* of the *parganah* of SNWT (*S. al-m.* ii p. 505 penult., trans. (1926) i p. 371). Subsequently he became *Bakhshī* to Shāh-'Ālam. As a poet he used the *takhalluṣ* "Dāmīr" (cf. Sprenger pp. 219, 237 (under Hidāyat)).



*Īzād ta'ālā ba-kām u ārām u ba-'izzat u ihtishām nigah-dāsh̄tah buyūt i mamlūkah u mahāllāt i mamlūk u al-tamghā ba-qadr i qismat kih dar zāhir ba-sabab i ghufrān-panāh Mahābat-Jang muyassar āmadah dar qabḍah i taṣarruf u auqāt dar gudhar ast, S. al-m. iii p. 948 antepenult., trans. (1926) iv p. 88). His jāgīr near Rohtās, where he founded the village of Ḥusainābād and where he spent the years of his retirement before his death on 3 Jumādā ii 1179/1765 (S. al-m. ii p. 776<sup>21</sup>, trans. (1926) iii p. 16), is often mentioned by Ghulām-Ḥusain, both father and son repeatedly visiting their relations at that place.*

In 1156/1743 Hidāyat-'Alī Khān, leaving the service of Haibat-Jang, the Governor of 'Azīmābād, migrated for a time to Shāhjahanābād, and it was from there that Ghulām-Ḥusain went in Muḥarram 1158/Jan.-Feb. 1745 to 'Azīmābād for the purpose of marrying the daughter of his maternal uncle, 'Abd al-'Alī Khān. In the following month, though he had no official employment (*bī 'alāqah i naukarī*), he served with (*ba-raḥmat i*) his uncle in the army of Haibat-Jang, which defended 'Azīmābād against Muṣṭafā Khān (S. al-m. ii p. 536<sup>11-17</sup>, trans. (1926) i p. 449). At the end of 1161/1748 Ghulām-Ḥusain presented himself before Sa'id Aḥmad Khān Ṣaulat-Jang ('Alī-Wirdī Khān's son-in-law) at Mōngīr ("Monghyr") and was taken into his service (*mubālaghah numūd kih hamīshah dar safar u ḥadar mulāzim bāyad būd u wajhī ba-qadr i ma'āsh barāyi bandah . . . muqarrar numūdah dast-khatt farmūd. S. al-m. ii p. 573 penult., trans. (1926) ii p. 72). Soon afterwards Ṣaulat-Jang was appointed Faujdār of Pūrniyah, an office which he held for seven years until his death in 1169/1754 (S. al-m. ii pp. 575<sup>1-2</sup>, 602<sup>24</sup>, trans. (1926) ii pp. 74, 141). Among the favours received from him by Ghulām-Ḥusain was the right to collect by deputy the revenue of the parganah of Srīpūr, a privilege which gave him an income of seven thousand rupees a year (S. al-m. ii p. 602<sup>1-12</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 140). When Ṣaulat-Jang was succeeded by his eldest son Shaukat-Jang, Ghulām-Ḥusain resigned (S. al-m. ii p. 607<sup>15</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 153 (mistranslated): *bandah kih az 'aql u auḍā' i ū ittīlā' i tamām dāsh̄t ba'd i kāmyābī i ū isti'fā-yi naukarī numūd*). Some time later, however, he yielded to Shaukat-Jang's entreaties and reluctantly entered the service of a man*



whom he disliked and despised (*S. al-m.* ii p. 623 ult., trans. (1926) ii p. 194). In Muḥarram 1170/Sept.–Oct. 1756 Shaukat-Jang, having conceived the absurd idea of wresting Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from Sirāj al-Daulah,<sup>1</sup> who had recently (9 April 1756) succeeded ‘Alī-Wirdī Khān, was defeated and slain in a battle with Sirāj al-Daulah’s forces. Ghulām-Husain, who was regarded by Sirāj al-Daulah as Shaukat-Jang’s instigator (*S. al-m.* ii p. 631<sup>14-15</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 214), escaped after some adventures from Sirāj al-Daulah’s dominions and went to Benares, where several of his relations, some of them banished by Sirāj al-Daulah, were living (*S. al-m.* ii p. 632<sup>17</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 217). In Shawwāl 1170/June–July 1757 Sirāj al-Daulah was defeated by Clive at Plassey, and Mīr Ja‘far Khān, a brother-in-law of ‘Alī-Wirdī Khān, was proclaimed Governor of Bengal.

Mīr Ja‘far Khān had been a close friend of Ghulām-Husain’s father, and in their early days Ghulām-Husain and his brother Naqī<sup>2</sup> ‘Alī Khān, especially the latter, had known him well (*S. al-m.* ii p. 642<sup>19-24</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 247). They felt, therefore, that their star was in the ascendant, and that circumstances were favourable for their return to ‘Azīmābād, where their homes and estates were situated (*S. al-m.* ii p. 642<sup>19-20</sup>). Mīr Ja‘far, however, showed himself hostile, and Naqī ‘Alī Khān, having gone to ‘Azīmābād with some of his relations, soon received through Rājah Rām Nārāyan,<sup>3</sup> the Governor, an order to return. Only through the influence of Mīr Ja‘far’s elder brother, Mīr M. Kāzīm Khān, was he permitted to stay. Ghulām-Husain himself soon afterwards went to ‘Azīmābād and obtained Rām Nārāyan’s permission to live there (*S. al-m.* ii p. 643<sup>1-15</sup>, trans. (1926) ii pp. 248–9). For some time he was in poor circumstances (*har chand ‘usrat u tahī-dastī i bisyār dar-ān awān lāhiq būd. S. al-m.* ii p. 647 ult., trans. (1926) ii p. 260), though at Rām Nārāyan’s request Mīr Ja‘far restored to him some estates (*jāgīrāt i qadīm*) near Mōngīr (*S. al-m.* ii p. 649<sup>15</sup>, trans. (1926) p. 265). About this time he was introduced by his friend Mīr

<sup>1</sup> The eldest son of Zain al-Dīn Ahmad Khān Haibat-Jang (already mentioned p. 627 *supra*), ‘Alī-Wirdī Khān’s nephew, son-in-law and adopted heir.

<sup>2</sup> So in the printed text, but perhaps a corruption of Taqī (see p. 635 *infra*).

<sup>3</sup> See Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 348.



‘Abd Allāh Ṣafawī to Mr. Amyatt, the recently-appointed Chief of the Patna factory<sup>1</sup> (*S. al-m.* ii p. 651<sup>10-11</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 270). With Dr. Fullarton, the Medical Officer of the Patna factory, whom he often mentions and whom he came to know well, he was acquainted in 1173/1759-60, if not earlier (cf. *S. al-m.* ii p. 676<sup>1-2</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 333). Rām Nārāyan was virtually the independent ruler of the province of ‘Azīmābād (*S. al-m.* ii p. 651 ult., trans. (1926) p. 271 penult.). Ghulām-Husain, having accepted from him a small allowance (*qalīl wajhī*. *S. al-m.* ii p. 653<sup>19</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 276), was in his service, and before long he and his brothers were able to recover their estates (*jāgīrāt*) near Rohtās, which had been seized by a neighbouring *zamīndār*, when the brothers were banished by Sirāj al-Daulah (*S. al-m.* ii p. 653 penult., trans. (1926) ii p. 276).

In 1172/1759 the *Shāh-zādah* ‘Ālī-Guhar and Muḥammad-Qulī Khān, the *Nāẓim* of Allahabad, made their unsuccessful invasion of Bengal. In the retinue of the *Shāh-zādah* was Ghulām-Husain’s father, Bakhshī al-Mulk Naṣīr al-Daulah S. Hidāyat-‘Ālī Khān Bahādur Asad-Jang (*S. al-m.* ii p. 657<sup>22</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 286), who, though living in some magnificence at Delhi, had for sixteen years contributed nothing to the support of Ghulām-Husain and his mother (*S. al-m.* ii p. 660<sup>6, 9</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 293). Ghulām-Husain was sent by Rām-Nārāyan to the enemy’s camp with a view to approaching his father and entering into negotiations with the *Shāh-zādah* (*S. al-m.* ii (iii) p. 661<sup>3-4</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 296). He did not return to ‘Azīmābād, but, before the failure of the final attack on the town, retired with his mother, his wife and other female relations to Sahasrām in the territory of Pahlawān Sing’h (*S. al-m.* ii p. 669<sup>2</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 316). Shortly afterwards the *Shāh-zādah* and Ghulām-Husain’s father arrived at Sahasrām. Ghulām-Husain and his brothers, having thrown in their lot with the *Shāh-zādah* and incurred the hostility of the *Nāẓim* of Bengal and his British supporters, could not return to ‘Azīmābād, and at Ghulām-Husain’s suggestion they and their father attached themselves

<sup>1</sup> Amyatt became Chief of the Patna factory in 1759 (see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 13).



to Pahlawān Sing'h, who was proposing to resist Mīran, Mīr Ja'far's son, and the British. Pahlawān Sing'h wished the Shāh-zādah to join him but failed to win his confidence. The Shāh-zādah, deciding to write to Colonel Clive (*S. al-m.* ii p. 670 ult., trans. (1926) ii p. 320 ult.), sent his *munshīs* to Ghulām-Husain's father with instructions to draft a letter. Their drafts failing to win approval, Ghulām-Husain at his father's request drafted a letter which was approved. Soon afterwards Ghulām-Husain and his wife went to Benares and he remained there for some months (*S. al-m.* ii p. 672<sup>3</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 323). When the Shāh-zādah in 1173/1759, having just claimed the throne as Shāh-'Ālam II, appeared for the second time near 'Azīmābād, Ghulām-Husain was again living there, having obtained the reluctant consent of Rām Nārāyan and a welcome from Mr. Amyatt and Dr. Fullarton (*S. al-m.* ii pp. 675 penult., 676<sup>1-3</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 333).

In 1174/1760 Mīr Ja'far was deposed, and Mīr Qāsim appointed Nāẓim in his stead. In 1174/1761, when Major Carnac encamped outside 'Azīmābād before marching against Shāh-'Ālam and Monsieur Law and defeating them at Gayā, Ghulām-Husain joined Carnac, with whom were Rājah Rām Nārāyan and Rāj Ballabh. Being unable on account of his straitened circumstances (*binā bar 'usrat i sāl-hā. S. al-m.* ii p. 699 ult., trans. (1926) ii p. 397) to provide his own equipment, he was provided by Carnac and Hay with a tent, horses and arms. Enjoying the confidence of the British and being at the same time a well-wisher (*daulat-khwāh*) of Mīr Qāsim Khān, he was sent from the camp to the latter at Bud'hgām with a request from the British Commanders that he would come to 'Azīmābād and decide between the contradictory advice given by Rām Nārāyan and Rāj Ballabh. Mīr Qāsim Khān declined to come on that occasion, but not long afterwards he moved to 'Azīmābād and from there sent Ghulām-Husain on a mission to Calcutta. For two or three months he remained there (*S. al-m.* p. 706<sup>23</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 416), trying to carry out his mission, which was to induce Mr. Amyatt (a member of the Calcutta Council. See Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 13) to put Rājah Rām Nārāyan



under the control of Mīr Qāsim Khān. Soon after Ghulām-Husain returned to 'Azīmābād, he was summoned by Mīr Qāsim Khān, who was then at that place, and asked to surrender his estate at Monghyr in order that it might be conferred on a certain Gurgīn Khān. Mīr Qāsim Khān promised to compensate him by giving him an estate elsewhere, but set out for Bhōjpūr and Sahasrām without carrying out his promise. Ghulām-Husain, being heavily in debt and without camp equipage, was unable to accompany him (*S. al-m.* ii p. 709<sup>13-21</sup>, trans. (1926) ii pp. 424-5). He was living thus in straitened circumstances at 'Azīmābād, when Dr. Fullarton suggested that he should go to Mīr Qāsim Khān at Monghyr, since the British could not protect him or openly help him in view of their agreements with Mīr Qāsim. Accepting the advice, Ghulām-Husain went to Monghyr in Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1175/June-July 1762. In Muharram 1176/1762 Mīr Qāsim Khān gave him a present (*in'ām*) of 5,000 rupees and ordered that the arrears of his salary should be paid and that thenceforward he should be paid regularly month by month (*S. al-m.* ii p. 713<sup>1-10</sup>, trans. (1926) ii pp. 434-6). For the moment, therefore, his circumstances were improved, but in view of his relations with the British his position was difficult and he lived in constant dread of Mīr Qāsim Khān's suspicions (*S. al-m.* ii p. 713<sup>15-16</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 436).

When Amyatt was sent by the Calcutta Council in 1176 on an embassy to Mīr Qāsim, the latter deputed Ghulām-Husain and a friend of his to meet Amyatt on his way to Monghyr and find out his real intentions (*S. al-m.* ii p. 722<sup>2</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 458). In 1177/1763 Ghulām-Husain accompanied Mīr Qāsim on his march from Monghyr to 'Azīmābād, was present at his defeat by the British forces and went with the defeated army to the neighbourhood of Benares (*S. al-m.* ii p. 743<sup>10-11</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 513). At this point he left the army (*S. al-m.* ii p. 743<sup>23</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 517) and lived at Benares for some months (*S. al-m.* ii p. 746<sup>9-10</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 524). In Ramadān 1177/March 1764 the army of Shāh-'Ālam and the *Nawwāb-Wazīr* of Oudh, which Mīr Qāsim had joined, reached Benares. Ghulām-Husain attached himself to it (*S. al-m.* ii p. 746<sup>8-10, 25-26</sup>, trans. (1926) ii pp. 524-5) and he was present at the subsequent



engagements without being actually in anyone's employ (*Faqīr kih sar-rishtah i naukarī bā kasī na-dāsh̄t bar aspī suwār . . . ham-rāh i īshān dar fauj i 'Ālī-Jāh būd. S. al-m. ii p. 749<sup>19-21</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 532*). Dissatisfied with Mīr Qāsim, he had joined the Emperor, but, seeing the inefficiency of the *Nawwāb-Wazīr*'s army, he disliked to stay with such a disorderly crowd. Dr. Fullarton, with whom he had remained in correspondence, had repeatedly suggested that he should induce the Emperor to throw in his lot with the British. *Ghulām-Husain* transmitted the suggestion through intermediaries (*S. al-m. ii p. 751<sup>13-18</sup>, trans. (1926) ii pp. 535-6*), and the Emperor, weary of the insubordination of the *Nawwāb-Wazīr*, agreed to the proposal and sent *Ghulām-Husain* with a letter to the British Commander at 'Azīmābād (*S. al-m. ii p. 751 penult., trans. (1926) ii p. 537*). Shortly afterwards (evidently in 1178/1764-5) *Ghulām-Husain* was asked by Major (afterwards Sir Hector) Munro whether he could contrive to put the fortress of Rohtās in the hands of the British. He wrote to the *Qal'ah-dār*, a man under obligations to his family, and pointed out the advantage of being on the winning side. The *Qal'ah-dār* accordingly arranged that Rohtās should be surrendered (*S. al-m. ii p. 758<sup>6-16</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 553*).

In 1179/1765 *Ghulām-Husain*, having been recommended by Dr. Fullarton, was working under Mr. Sage, Chief of the Benares factory (*dar-īn auqāt faqīr ba-sipārish i Dāktar Fullartan dar rafāqat i Mīstar Sēj . . . shudah būd. S. al-m. ii p. 776<sup>17</sup>, trans. (1926) iii p. 16*). On hearing of his father's death, he left Mr. Sage and went to Husainābād. Soon afterwards possession of the *jāgīr* was confirmed to him as the eldest son (*S. al-m. ii p. 777<sup>2-3</sup>, trans. (1926) iii p. 17*). In 1180/1767 Rājah Shitāb Rāy [*Nā'ib-Dīwān* of Bihār] went to Calcutta to meet Henry Verelst, the new Governor of Bengal. *Ghulām-Husain*, desirous of entering his service, went with him (*faqīr ham binā bar husn i sulūk i ū qāsid i rafāqatash gashtah ham-rāh raft. S. al-m. ii p. 780<sup>13</sup>, trans. (1926) iii p. 24*). In 1187/1773-4 (apparently) he spent two or three weeks in Calcutta making arrangements for a pilgrimage to Mecca (*S. al-m. ii p. 797<sup>2-7</sup>, trans. (1926) iii pp. 70-1*). In 1188/1774-5, having become surety for a *zamīndār*, whom he had



known for many years, he suffered a loss of fifty or sixty thousand rupees and was reduced to poverty. A month later Colonel (afterwards General) Goddard,<sup>1</sup> with whom he was already acquainted, arrived in 'Azīmābād on his way to assume the command of Chunār Fort. Hearing of Ghulām-Husain's plight, he took him with him to Chunār and put him in charge of the financial arrangements there (*faqīr rā dar kār-hā-yi māli i ān-jā mukhtār sākhtah*). Not long afterwards Goddard was appointed to the command of Āṣaf al-Daulah's army. Ghulām-Husain spent 14 months with him at Lucknow and then returned to 'Azīmābād (*S. al-m. iii p. 952*<sup>4</sup>). Early in 1192/1778, desiring to approach the British authorities with reference to a personal matter, which he does not particularise, he took the opportunity of accompanying Colonel Goddard from 'Azīmābād to Calcutta. Unfortunately, although he had two or three interviews with Hastings, whom he had known for some considerable time (*S. al-m. ii p. 806*<sup>13-14</sup>), his journey was fruitless. The British, he says, were too much occupied with wars and personal quarrels to have any time to spare for the affairs of Indians, and Colonel Goddard, on whose support he had relied, was put in command of the Bengal contingent which marched across India to aid the Bombay army against the Marāṭ'hās (*S. al-m. ii p. 805*, trans. (1926) iii p. 98). He had declined Colonel Goddard's offer to take him with the army as *Mīr Munshī* and envoy to the Marāṭ'hā generals (*S. al-m. ii p. 806*<sup>15-18</sup>, trans. (1926) iii p. 101: *az Karnal Gāḍard ma'lūm shud kih mī-khwāhad faqīr rā mulāzim i khwud gardānad ammā mashrūt ba-dū kār yakī ān-kih ba-taur i Mīr Munshī umūr i dār al-inshā' ba-faqīr rujū' būdah bī mulāḥaẓah u iṣlāḥ i in aqall al-anām ṣūrat i irqām na-yābad duwwum ān-kih safar i sifārat i Dak'han*<sup>2</sup> *ham ba-faqīr muta'alliq bāshad bandah kār i duwwum rā ba-khauf i pīrī u dūrī az 'iyāl u atfāl*

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Goddard, who eventually became Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army and who died in 1783, raised "Goddard's battalion" of sepoys at Murshidabad in 1764, was in command at Berhampur in 1774 and of the contingent at Lucknow in 1776. See Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian biography*.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of this expression cf. p. 807<sup>7</sup>: *dar hangām i āshūb i Marhattah ba-sifārat i Dak'han nazd i sardārān i ān-jā raft u maurid i 'ināyat i tarafain dar-in asfār gardidah* . . .



*u mahrumī az taqbīl i qudūm [sic] i wālidah . . . inkār numūd*). In Rabī' ii 1194/1780 he found himself obliged to go again to Calcutta to settle some business (*ba-idtirār i infisāl i mu'āmalah i khwud*). During that journey he was preparing the *brouillon* of the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn* (*S. al-m.* ii p. 813<sup>4-6</sup>, trans. (1926) iii p. 118). While at Calcutta he had an interview with Hastings, who was sympathetic and promised that his wish would be accomplished, but the promise was not fulfilled (*S. al-m.* ii p. 816 antepenult., trans. (1926) iii p. 129).

The year 1195/1781 is several times mentioned as the current year in the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn*, but there is one passage (ii p. 820<sup>11</sup>) where 1198/1783-4 is described as "last year". If the *Sharaf-nāmah* mentioned below is a work of his, he was alive in 1221/1806-7, and, if the Bānkīpūr MS. (No. 282) is really an autograph, he cannot have died before 1230/1815. In that case he must have lived to a very advanced age.

Although Ghulām-Husain records the fact of his entry into the employ of several different persons, it is not his practice to state the precise designation of the office that he held. We have seen, however, that the position offered to him by Colonel Goddard was that of *Mīr Munshī* and it may be surmised that in at least some of the other cases he was employed as a *Munshī*. In one passage he mentions that "to the present day" Mr. Hastings praises his letters (*wa-ilā'l-ān Gawarnar 'Imād al-Daulah Mīstar Hashting Bahādur Jalādat-Jang muḥarrarāt i faqīr rā mī-sitāyad*. *S. al-m.* ii p. 674<sup>16-17</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 329, where the passage is inaccurately translated).

In addition to the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn* he wrote (1) *Bishārat al-imāmah*,<sup>1</sup> a *mathnawī* on the lives of his ancestors, especially the miracles of his great-grandfather S. Faiḍ Allāh Ṭabāṭabā'ī and his grandfather S. 'Alīm Allāh Ṭabāṭabā'<sup>2</sup> (MS.: Bānkīpūr Suppt. i no. 1991), (2) a theological work on the prerogatives of 'Alī and his descendants, being a Shī'ite interpretation of certain traditions quoted in the *Fawātiḥ* of Mīr Husain al-Maibudhī

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in the *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn* ii pp. 523<sup>16</sup>, 613<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> S. 'Alīm Allāh died at 'Azīmābād in Sha'bān 1156/1743 (*S. al-m.* ii p. 613<sup>11-12</sup>, trans. (1926) ii p. 171).



(MS. Bānkīpūr xiv no. 1319, defective at both ends and of unknown title), (3) an Arabic *tafsīr* (*tafsīr dar tāzī i bā-muḥāwarah*), (4) a commentary on the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, (5) other theological works (*u dīgar kutub i kalāmīyah*), (6) a *dīwān* (*u dīwān i ash'ār*). Nos. (3)-(6) are mentioned here on the authority of "a short biographical account of the author by Sayyid 'Alī Muḥammad Shād (the well-known Urdū poet of Patna) written in his own hand" <sup>1</sup> on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the Bānkīpūr MS. of the *Bishārat al-imāmah*. A work entitled *Sharaf-nāmah* written in 1221/1806-7 by Ghulām-Husain Khān, *Munshī i Dār al-inshā' i Ist Indiyā Kampanī* (Āṣafīyah iii p. 104 no. 1314, a MS. dated 1268/1851-2), may also be by him. It is included in the historical part of the Āṣafīyah catalogue, but its precise subject is not stated.

*Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, a history of India from Aurang-zēb's death in 1118/1707 to 1195/1781, begun in Ṣafar 1194/Feb. 1780, completed in Ramaḍān 1195/Aug. 1781 and containing <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This short biographical note, for a transcript of which I am indebted to the kindness of the authorities of the Oriental Public Library at Bānkīpūr, contains no information of importance about Ghulām-Husain Khān apart from the statement concerning his writings. It does, however, show that descendants of his father, Nawwāb S. Hidāyat-'Alī Khān, were living at Patna quite recently. Thus his second son Nawwāb Fakhr al-Daulah Taqī [so, but Naqī in the printed text of the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*] 'Alī Khān was the father of Nawwāb S. Kāzīm 'Alī Khān, who was the maternal grandfather of Nawwāb al-Hājī S. Wilāyat-'Alī Khān, C.I.E.

<sup>2</sup> The author regarded his work as consisting of three *daftars*, but only the third is clearly indicated as such by a colophon in which he returns thanks to God for the completion of the *daftar i siwum* (Lucknow editions p. 961<sup>16</sup>. Cf. pp. 611<sup>1</sup> and 657 ult., where he promises to deal with certain events in the *daftar i siwum*). That the *Muqaddimah* is *Daftar i* and the rest of the work *Daftar ii* may be inferred from the fact that, like *Daftar iii*, they, and no other parts, begin with formal exordia. If the Bānkīpūr MS. no. 282 is an autograph, this inference is confirmed by the author himself, since in that MS. the *Muqaddimah* ends with the words *Tammāt kitāb (? kitābat) i daftar i auwal*. The MSS. show some differences of arrangement. In some, for example, the continuation of the history of India from 1153 to 1195 (i.e. *Daftar iii*) precedes the history of Bengal. That is not the original order. In the preface to *Daftar iii* (Lucknow editions p. 846) the author says that, having narrated the events of Muḥammad Shāh's reign to its twenty-second year and having afterwards dealt with the history of Bengal and 'Azīmābād, he will fulfil his promise to give in another *daftar* (*daftar i dīgar*) the rest of that monarch's reign and the history of subsequent times.



(1) a history of the Tīmūrīds from Aurangzēb's death to Nādir Shāh's departure in 1152/1739 (beginning *Sipās i bī-qiyās u sitāyish i sarmadī-asās* and corresponding to pp. 374–486 in the Lucknow editions), (2) a history of Bengal from the death of Shujā' al-Daulah [in Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1151/March 1739] to 1195/1781 (no separate *basmalah*. First heading: *Dhikr i riḥlat i Shujā' al-Daulah Ṣubah-dār i Bangālah* etc. Corresponding to pp. 487–844 in the Lucknow editions), (3) a continuation of the history of India from 1153/1740 to 1195/1781 (beginning: *Ḥamd u thanā-yi Pādshāh i 'alā 'l-itlāq*, and corresponding to pp. 846–961 in the Lucknow editions), (4) a *Khātimah* containing some remarks on Aurangzēb's character and an account of his capture of Bījāpūr and Golconda (headed *Khātimah i kitāb mutadammin i barkhī az aḥwāl i Aurangzēb 'Ālamgīr* in the MS. Aumer 240, but in the published editions this section is appended to the *Muqaddimah* (Calcutta 1836 pp. 400(?)–439, Lucknow editions pp. 337(?)–372) without any heading. In Muṣṭafā's translation it occurs at the end of the work (Calcutta 1926, vol. iv pp. 124–234)), (5) a subsequently added *Muqaddimah*, which is in fact the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* of Sujān Rāy<sup>1</sup> (for which see p. 454 *supra*) with slight alterations and a preface containing a dedication to Warren Hastings: **Bānkipūr** vii 582 (with *Muqaddimah*. Ḥusainābād, A.H. 1230/1815. Apparently autograph<sup>2</sup>), 583–4 (with *Muqaddimah*. A.H. 1233/1818), Suppt. 1769 (*Muqaddimah* only. A.H. 1236/1821), 1770 (with *Muqaddimah*, but breaking

<sup>1</sup> There is no question of a plagiarism here, as Nassau Lees supposed. Ghulām-Ḥusain does not claim the *Muqaddimah* as his own work, but states quite clearly that it was written by *yakī az muntasibūn i pīshah i inshā*. The author of the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* does not mention his name in the preface to that work (at least in the form of his preface which occurs in nearly all the MSS.). He does, however, mention that his profession was *munshīgarī*.

<sup>2</sup> As already stated (p. 627), Ḥusainābād was a village founded by Ghulām-Ḥusain's father on his *jāgīr* near Rohtās. The colophon, quoted by Abdul Muqtadir, does not contain the name of Ghulām-Ḥusain but states that the MS. was completed *ba-dastyārī i aqlām i in aqall al-anām* (a formula used elsewhere by Ghulām-Ḥusain, e.g. at the end of *Daftar* iii). The MS. was bought for Rs. 150 in the belief that it was an autograph, apparently by Nawwāb S. Vilāyat 'Alī Khān, of Patna, whose maternal grandfather was Nawwāb Kāzīm 'Alī Khān, the son of Ghulām-Ḥusain Khān's younger brother, Nawwāb Fakhr al-Daulah Taqī 'Alī Khān.



off in the middle of *Daftar* ii. 19th cent.), **Rehatsek** p. 77 no. 17 (*Daftar* ii (though described as *jild i awwal*). "20th Muharram A.H. 1195" [sic, but this is doubtless a misprint, or a mis-transcription, or a misreading, of the date of completion by the author, 26 Muharram 1195]. ANALYSIS), p. 80 no. 18 (*Daftar* iii (though described as *jild i duwwum*). Ending with the account of Aurangzēb and his expedition against Golconda. A.H. 1212/1797-8. ANALYSIS), **Ross and Browne** 13 (with *Muqaddimah*. Presented by Sir W. Jones in January 1792<sup>1</sup>), **Ethé** 417 (without *Muqaddimah* and slightly defective. Not later than A.H. 1201/1787), 416 (without *Muqaddimah*. A.H. 1205/1791), 418 (without *Muqaddimah*. N.d.), 419-20 (fragments of *Daftar* ii), 421 (an index only), **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A. I. 19-20 (A.H. 1202/1788), **Bodleian** 265 (without *Muqaddimah*. N.d.), **Eton** 199 (not later than A.D. 1790), **Berlin** (without *Muqaddimah*. A.H. 1203/1789), **Rieu** i 280b (without *Muqaddimah*. 18th cent.), 281b (without *Muqaddimah* but with *Khātimah*. Late 18th cent.), **Edinburgh** 225 (without *Muqaddimah*. Late 18th cent.), 226 (without *Muqaddimah*. Late 18th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 145 nos. 432-3 ("Vols. i. and iii." Circ. A.D. 1800), nos. 150-3 ("Complete. 4 vols." A.D. 1802), nos. 897-8 ("3 vols. in 2." A.H. 1224/1809), nos. 874-6 ("Vols. i., ii. and iv." A.H. 1227/1812), **Leyden** iii p. 14 no. 926 (A.D. 1812), **Amiri Efendi** Pers. 759-60 = Tauer 554-5 (with *Muqaddimah*. A.H. 1229-31/1814-15), **Ivanow** 174 (*Muqaddimah* only. 19th cent.), 175 (*Daftar* iii. Early 13th cent. H.), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 242 no. 198 (A.H. 1271/1854-5), **Vollers** 988-90 (inadequately described, but probably a single copy in three volumes, of which 989 appears to be the *Muqaddimah* and of which 990 is dated 1289/1872). **Aumer** 239-40 (without *Muqaddimah*), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 101-2 (with *Muqaddimah*), **Caetani** 43, **R.A.S.** P. 110 = Morley 105 (without *Muqaddimah*), P. 111 = Morley 106, P. 112-13 = Morley 107-8 (*Daftars* ii-iii). Presumably the *Tārīkh i Muḥammad-Shāhī* by Ghulām-Husain b. Hidāyat-'Alī Khān recorded

<sup>1</sup> The colophon of the *Muqaddimah* is dated 1198 (26 Nov. 1783-13 Nov. 1784), but it is not clear whether this colophon is due to Ghulām-Husain or to the copyist. No such colophon occurs in the published editions.



in *Āṣafīyah* i p. 230 no. 512 (A.H. 1210/1795–6) and no. 759 (A.H. 1231/1816) is a part of the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*.

Editions: (1) *Seear-ool mutakh-reen. . . . The exploits of the moderns, or the history of the empire of Hindoostan, from the year 1118 to 1194 of the Hijrah (A.D. 1782) . . . compiled by Nuwwaub Syed Gholam Hosein Khan, Tuba Tuba-ee, edited by Hukeem Abdool Mujeed . . . Calcutta 1248/1833\* (Daftars ii (422 pp.) and iii (115 pp.).<sup>1</sup> The B.M. has only Daftar iii in this edition). Preface to *Seirool Mutakhirin. Or, The History of India. Containing the transactions of the reigns of the beginning of Gorwan and Pandwan, to the beginning of Mohummud Aurung-zeb Awlumgir. Compiled by Syed Gholam Husein Khan Tuba Tubae . . . Edited by Hukim Mouluve Abdool Mujid . . . Volume i. (Muqaddimah i kitāb i Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn), Calcutta 1252/1836\*.* (2) *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, Nawal Kishōr [Lucknow] 1282–3/1866° (the whole work including the *Muqaddimah*)<sup>2</sup>. (3) Nawal Kishōr, Lucknow 1314/1897\* (agreeing in pagination etc. with no. 2).*

English translation (omitting the *Muqaddimah* but containing the *Khātimah*): *A translation of the Sēir Mutaghharin; or, View of Modern Times . . . [by "Nota Manus", i.e. Hājji Mustafā, originally Raymond (for whom see Buckland's Dictionary of Indian biography p. 353)] Calcutta 1789°\* (most of this edition was lost at sea), [1902–3°\*] (a reprint with index), 1926\* (another reprint with index).*

Partial translations: (1) *History of Bengal from the accession of Aliverdee Khan Mahabut Jung [to the year 1780, being part vi or, in other words, vol. ii, pp. 309–461, of Ferishta's History of Dekkan . . . By Jonathan Scott, Shrewsbury 1794°\* (see p. 449 supra), (2) The Siyar-ul-mutakherin . . . Revised from the translation of Haji Mustefa . . . by J. Briggs. Vol. i. London 1832°\* (Oriental Translation Fund. No more published. This translation, about one-fifth of the work, corresponds to vol. i pp. 1–369*

<sup>1</sup> In the printer's colophons of this edition each *daftar* is called merely *in jild*, without mention of any number. Nothing is said on the title-page about volumes, *daftars*, or *jilds*.

<sup>2</sup> The pagination runs continuously through the three *jilds* (i.e. *daftars*), *jild* ii beginning at p. 373 and *jild* iii at p. 845.



in the 1789 edition of Hājji Mustafā's translation and ends with the defeat of Sarfarāz Khān by 'Alī-Wirdī Khān in 1153/1740).

Extracts : (1) *Selections from Sairul Muta-akh-kharin . . . Prescribed as a rapid reading course for B.A. Examination of Allahabad University for 1920-21. Allahabad 1919\**. (2) *Intikhāb az Siyar al-muta'akhkhirin* [with a glossary]. Allahabad 1922\*. (3) *Intikhāb i Siyar al-muta'akhkhirin* [the reign of Akbar from the *Muqaddimah*]. Lucknow [1928\*].

Urdu translations : (1) *Iqbāl-nāmah*, by S. Bakhshish-'Alī Faidābādī, Delhi (see Garcin de Tassy i p. 284, where the authority for saying that this translation was printed at Delhi is given as the "Report of public instruction, 1843-1844; append. cxv"), (2) *Mir'āt al-salāfin*, by Gökul Prasād, [Lucknow] 1874°.

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 194-8.

Abridgment : *Mulakhkhas al-tawārīkh* or *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, by Farzand-'Alī al-Husainī, of Mōngir, or Maulawī 'Abd al-Karīm, Head Munshī of the E.I.Co.'s Persian Office (*Dār al-inshā'*), or both,<sup>1</sup> in three *daftars* (i) from Tīmūr to A.H. 1152/1739, (ii) Bengal and Bihār from circ. 1140/1727-8 to A.H. 1195/1780-1, (iii) the Tīmūrids from A.H. 1153/1740-1195/1780-1 : Ivanow Curzon 40 (A.H. 1250/1834), Bānkipūr vii 585 (A.H. 1279/1862), Rieu iii 943a (19th cent.).

Editions : Calcutta 1243/1827°, Agrah 1247/1831 (see Rieu iii 943a).

Description of the *Mulakhkhas al-tawārīkh* : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii p. 199.

[*Siyar al-muta'akhkhirin*, Lucknow 1866, vol. ii (iii) pp. 948-52 (the 10th, 9th and 8th sections from the end of the work) and many other places in vols. ii and iii (most, but not by any means

<sup>1</sup> The printed edition of 1827 contains prefaces by both of these persons, the former of whom calls the work *Mulakhkhas al-tawārīkh*, while the latter, giving 1825 as the date of writing, calls it *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. The English title-page calls it *Mulakhkhas al-tawārīkh* and says that it was "prepared chiefly by Maulavi Abdul Kerim". On the Persian title-page the title is given as *Zubdat al-tawārīkh* and 'Abd al-Karim is named as the epitomator.



all, of these passages can be traced with the help of the indexes to the [1902-3] and 1926 editions of Raymond's translation); *An account of Gholaum Hossein Khan, Author of a very valuable and interesting Work, intituled "Sëir Mutakharin, or a View of Modern Times", translated [or rather, summarised] from the Persic Original* [i.e. the above-mentioned passage in the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirin* (Lucknow 1866, vol. ii (iii) pp. 948-52)] (in *The Asiatic Annual Register . . . for the year 1801*, London 1802, Characters, pp. 28-32); *Riyād al-wifāq* (Sprenger p. 170); Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 194-7; Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 164; *Ency. Isl.* under Ghulām Husain Khān (unsigned and short).]

803. According to Jonathan Scott "The Persic Journal of the cruel proceedings of the unprincipled and inhuman Rhohilla chief, Gholaum Kaudir was written by an eye witness on the scene of their perpetration, and transmitted to me by my brother Captain Richard Scott."

*Account of Ghulām-Qādir's proceedings at Delhi*: no MSS. recorded.

English translation: *Ferishta's History of Dekkan . . . By Jonathan Scott*, Shrewsbury 1794<sup>o</sup>\* vol. ii pp. 285-306.

804. Ghulām-‘Alī Khān b. Bhik’hārī<sup>1</sup> Khān was the son of Nawwāb Raushan al-Daulah Bhik’hārī Khān Rustam-Jang, the friend and minister of Mu‘īn al-Mulk. (d. 1167/1753-4), the *Sūbah-dār* of Lahore. He was *Munshī* to Prince Jawān-bakht Jahāndār Shāh<sup>2</sup> and was living at Lucknow in 1798 when Captain W. Francklin published his *History of the reign of Shah Aulum*.

(1) *Shāh-‘Ālam-nāmah* or *Ā’in i ‘Ālam-Shāhī*,<sup>3</sup> a bombastic history of ‘Ālamgīr II (reigned 1167/1754-1173/1759) and

<sup>1</sup> *Bhik’hārī* is a Hindi word for a mendicant which is used also as a proper name.

<sup>2</sup> For whom see p. 624 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> These are the titles by which the author refers to this work in the preface to his *Muqaddimah i Shāh-‘Ālam-nāmah*. On the fly-leaves of manuscripts and elsewhere it is sometimes given other titles, such as *Tārīkh i ‘Ālam-Shāhī*.



Shāh-‘Ālam (‘Ālī-Gauhar,<sup>1</sup> reigned A.H. 1173/1759–1221/1806) from the deposition of Aḥmad Shāh A.H. 1167/1754 to A.H. 1203/1789 : **Bodleian** 266 (autograph), **Rieu** i 281b (18th cent.), 282b (18th cent.), iii 945a (A.H. 1265/1849), 1027a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Bloch** i 615 (18th cent.), **Ethé** 424 (vol. i, i.e. to A.H. 1185/1771. A.H. 1207/1793), 425 (vol. ii, i.e. A.H. 1185/1771–1203/1789. A.H. 1206/1792), **I.O.** 3924 (vol. ii. A.D. 1878), 3976 (vol. ii. A.D. 1891), **Ivanow** 176 (vol. i only).

Edition : *Shah Alam Nama . . . Edited by . . . Harinath De* [Fasc. i, 1912], *A. al-Ma’mūn Suhrawardy and Āqā M. Kāẓim Shīrāzī* [Fasc. ii, 1914, extending to A.D. 1761], **Calcutta** 1912–(Bibliotheca Indica).

Text and translation of letter from Prince Jawān-bakht to George III and Shāh-‘Ālam’s lament on the loss of his sight : *Francklin op. cit.* pp. 242–54.

*The history of the reign of Shah-Aulum . . . By W. Francklin*, London, 1798, is largely based on the Shāh-‘Ālam-nāmah.

(2) *Muqaddimah i Shāh-‘Ālam-nāmah*, a history of the Mughuls from the death of Aurangzēb to the accession of ‘Ālamgīr II, A.H. 1167/1754, written after the Shāh-‘Ālam-nāmah as an introduction to it : **Bodleian** 266 (autograph), **Rieu** i 278b (18th cent.), 279b (18th cent.).

805. Maulawī **Khair al-Dīn Muḥammad Ilāhābādī**, who was born in 1165/1751 and died about 1827, has already been mentioned (pp. 520–2 *supra*) as the author of a sketch of Tīmūrid history.

‘*Ibrat-nāmah*,<sup>2</sup> the fullest and best extant history of Shāh-‘Ālam II (reigned 1173/1759–1221/1806) extending to A.H. 1206/1791 and divided (in most MSS.) into a *Muqaddimah* and two *Daftars* : **Rieu** iii 946a (19th cent.), 947b (*Muqaddimah* and 1st *Daftar* only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 948a (detached sections. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1026b (extracts from a later recension, said to extend beyond the accession of Akbar Shāh. Cf. **Rieu** iii 947b. Circ.

<sup>1</sup> Not ‘Alī Djawhar, as in the *Ency. Isl.*

<sup>2</sup> The book is so called in allusion to the warning conveyed by Ghulām-Qādir’ career.



A.D. 1850), 1051*b* (extracts only), **Ivanow** 177 (A.H. 1217/1802-3), 178 (to middle of 2nd *Daftar*), **Ivanow** Curzon 38 (part of *Daftar* i), **Bānkipūr** vii 587-9 (A.D. 1886), Suppt. 1768 (19th cent.), **I.O.** 3908-10 (latter half of 19th cent.).

Table of contents of vol. ii with translated extracts: **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,710, foll. 368-85.

Description and 16 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 237-254.

Abridged extracts: *Pādāsh i kirdār*, an account of Ghulām-Qādir Khān, by Amīn al-Dīn Husain Khān b. Khair al-Dīn M. Khān, the author's son: **Bānkipūr** xvii no. 1717 (19th cent.), **I.O.** 3979 (transcribed from the preceding MS.).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (d) 19TH CENTURY

806. The forty-fifth year of Shāh-Ālam's reign [A.H. 1218/1803-4] is mentioned as the current year at the end of—

*An anonymous history of the successors of Aurangzēb* from his death to the thirtieth year of Shāh-Ālam II (A.H. 1202/1787-8) beginning, without a preface, *Rāwiyān i ma'nī-pardāz u nāqilān i haqīqat-tirāz*: **Bānkipūr** vii 590 (A.H. 1238/1822).

807. **Ghulām-Husain Khān** b. M. **Himmat Khān** says in his history of the Zamīndārs of Benares (**Bānkipūr** vii 608, see below in the sub-section devoted to Benares) that he was in the service of Rājah Balwand Sing'h and his son Rājah Chait Sing'h (deposed A.H. 1195/1780).

*Dhikr al-siyar* (a chronogram = 1221/1806), a history of the Tīmūrids from Nādir Shāh's sack of Delhi in 1151/1738-9 to the end of Shāh-Ālam's reign, A.H. 1221/1806: **Ethé** 429, **I.O.** 3971 (probably A.D. 1897-8), 3978 (an abstract only. Circ. A.D. 1891?), **Bloch** i 616.

808. M. Zahīr al-Dīn Mīrzā 'Alī **Bakht Gūrgānī**, called Mīrzā i Kalān and, as a poet, "**Azfarī**," was the grandson of a daughter (*nawāsah-zādah*) of M. Mu'izz al-Dīn Pādshāh (i.e. Jahāndār



Shāh), son of Shāh-‘Ālam Bahādur Shāh. In 1211/1797 at Maqṣūdābād (an old name for Murshidābād), nine years after leaving Delhi, he decided to write his memoirs, the *Wāqī‘āt i Azfarī*. In the *khātimah* to these memoirs he mentions seven of his earlier works, viz. (1) *Lughat i Turkī i Chaghatāy*, a Chaghatāy dictionary (MS. Rehatsek p. 54 no. 27), (2) an enlarged Persian translation of Mīr ‘Alī Shīr’s *Mahbūb al-qulūb*, (3) *Niṣāb i Turkī*, (4) *Tengrī-Tārī*, a Turkish-Hindi imitation of the *Khāliq-Bārī* ascribed to Amīr Khusrau, (5) a Persian metrical translation of the *Risālah i qabrīyah*<sup>1</sup> [or ‘*Alāmāt al-qadāyā*], a treatise on the signs of approaching death ascribed to Hippocrates, (6) *Nuskah i sāniḥāt*, a parænetic work, (7) a second Chaghatāy *Niṣāb* in 452 verses written at ‘Azīmābād. Another work, *Fawā’id al-mubtadī*, is mentioned earlier in the memoirs. For his Urdu *dīwān* see Sprenger p. 602 no. 599.

*Wāqī‘āt i Azfarī*, an account of the overthrow of the Gūrgānīs (i.e. the Tīmūrīds) by Ghulām-Qādir, the Rohilla who captured Delhi in 1788, the author’s escape from captivity and his wanderings until A.H. 1221/1806 : **Berlin** 496 (A.H. 1227/1812), **Rieu** iii 1051b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Madras**.

Urdu translation<sup>2</sup> : *Tarjamah i Wāqī‘āt i Azfarī . . . mutarjamah i ‘Abd al-Sattār . . . bah taṣṭih u tarmīm i Muḥammad Husain “Mahwī” Siddīqī . . . Madras (Bangalore printed) 1937 (*Bulletin of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu* [Madras University], No. 1).*

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii p. 234.

[*Subh i watan* p. 35 ; Garcin de Tassy i p. 265 ; Sprenger p. 208 ; Berlin Pers. Cat. no. 496.]

809. Munshī **Munnā Lāl**, or **Mannū Lāl**, the son of Bahādur Sing’h, tells us (in a passage quoted by ‘Abd al-Muqtadir) that, having passed his fiftieth year and lost his sight, he had ended the detailed narrative of Shāh-‘Ālam’s reign with the 30th year and had given only a summary account of events from the 31st

<sup>1</sup> For editions of the Arabic text see Ellis.

<sup>2</sup> From a MS. (location unspecified, but presumably that recorded in the Madras catalogue).



to the 48th [and last] year. A *Tārīkh i Dakan* by Rāy Munnā Lāl, who may of course be a different person, is mentioned in *Āṣafīyah* i p. 224 no. 797 (Edition : place ? 1303/1885-6).

(*Shāh-‘Ālam-nāmah*) or (*Tārīkh i Shāh-‘Ālam*), a history of *Shāh-‘Ālam*’s reign (A.H. 1173/1759-1221/1806) : **Bānkipūr** vii 586 (the only recorded MS. containing the whole reign. A.H. 1226/1811), **Rieu** iii 943*b* (breaks off in the 24th year, 1196/1782. 19th cent.), 1027*a* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1052*b* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 393.

W. Francklin used this work for his *History of the reign of Shah Aulum* and describes it (p. 198) as a “MS. of Munnoo Loll, a Hindoo, containing the thirteen first years of the reign”.

810. Rāy **Tēk Chand** was *Akḥbār-nawīs* to the East India Company at *Shāh-‘Ālam*’s court. The *Rūz-nāmchah i Shāh-‘Ālam* was transcribed from his newsletters (*akḥbār*).

(*Rūz-nāmchah i Shāh-‘Ālam*), a journal of events at the court of *Shāh-‘Ālam* from the beginning of the 31st regnal year (1 Jumādā i 1173/28 Jan. 1759) to his death on 7 Ramaḍān 1221/19 Nov. 1806 in the 49th regnal year : **Bānkipūr** vii no. 620 (19th cent.), **I.O.** 3921-2 (A.D. 1885).

811. **Bhagwān-Dās** Pandit **Shivpūrī** began his *Makhzan al-futūḥ* in the time of *Shāh-‘Ālam* II (reigned 1173/1759-1221/1806) and finished it in the first year of his successor M. Akbar *Shāh* (reigned A.H. 1221/1806-1253/1837).

*Makhzan al-futūḥ* (a chronogram = 1222/1807-8), an account of Lord Lake’s operations against the Marāṭhās from his advance upon Delhi, 7 Aug. 1803, to his treaty with Hōlkar, Dec. 1805, and his return to Calcutta : **Rieu** iii 948*b* (A.D. 1849), 1050*b* (extract only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

812. For a poem, or poems, describing Lord Lake’s operations against Bharatpūr see p. 689 *infra*.

813. Mullā **Firūz** bin Kāwūs was born at Broach in 1758. At the age of ten he accompanied his father, a Parsee priest, on a



journey to Persia for the purpose of obtaining answers from the Zoroastrians of Persia to a number of religious questions. They went first to Yazd, afterwards to Isfahān and Shīrāz and remained in the country for twelve years. On their return they settled at Bombay. From 1794 he acted as a Parsee priest of the "Kadmi" sect. In 1807, at the suggestion of Jonathan Duncan, he undertook to write on the model of Firdausī's *Shāh-nāmah* a poem dealing with the history of the British power in India. He completed this work when over seventy years of age but he did not live to see it in print. In 1818 he published an edition and translation of the *Dasātīr* (see Edwards col. 187). In 1822 he helped to found the *Bombay Samāchār*, a newspaper to which he made frequent contributions. In 1828 he published a work on intercalation (see Edwards col. 213), a subject on which there was much controversy at that time among the Parsees. His *Pand-nāmah* (Rehatsek p. 132 no. 20) was published at Bombay in 1342/1923\* and in the *Qā'idah i Fārsiyyān*, a collection of three works by different authors, at the same place in 1880\*. For other works of his, which are all in Persian and mostly in verse and which include a *Dīn-kard i manzūmah*, see Rehatsek's *Catalogue raisonné of the Arabic, Hindostani, Persian and Turkish MSS. in the Mulla Firuz Library*, e.g. pp. 181, 215.

He died on 8 October 1830, bequeathing his library to the Elders of the "Kadmi" sect of Zoroastrians for the benefit of all castes and creeds. In 1854 the Mullā Fīrūz Madrasah was founded to commemorate his name and to this madrasah the library was for a time attached, but in 1857 it was detached and came under a separate committee.

*Jārj-nāmah*, an epic poem on the history of British power in India to A.D. 1817 : Sprenger 218, **Rehatsek** p. 97 nos. 46-8 (autograph).

Edition : *The George-Nāmah of Mullā Feruz bin Kāwus. Edited by his nephew Mullā Rustam bin Kaikobād.* 3 vols. **Bombay** 1837°\*.

[Rehatsek *Catalogue raisonné of the . . . MSS. in the Mulla Firuz Library* pp. vii-viii, 215 etc. ; Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 146 ; Portrait in the *Jārj-nāmah*.]



814. Maulawī M. **Faḍl i ‘Azīm** “‘**Azīm**” gives some account of his life at the beginning of his *Afsānah i Bhartpūr*, which he wrote in 1241/1826 (see p. 689 *infra*). He became secretary to William Fraser<sup>1</sup> at Delhi, served him for twenty years [which included the time spent on Fraser’s staff,<sup>2</sup> when the latter accompanied General Martindell’s army as Political Agent in the Nepalese War of 1814–16, returning to Delhi in August 1815<sup>3</sup>], and then by his influence obtained employment in the office of “the Board”. Unfortunately this employment proved disappointing, since his chief continually found fault with him. He resigned and was reduced to sore straits. Happily Fraser returned to Delhi, and on the outbreak of hostilities against Bharatpur, Faḍl i ‘Azīm accompanied his old master on the campaign. Subsequently he became a Deputy Collector in the Sahāranpūr District.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the *Afsānah i Bhartpūr* and the *Waqā’i’ i Kūhistān* he wrote a romantic *mathnawī* entitled *Sham’ i shabistān*, which was published at Shāhjahanābād [i.e. Delhi] in 1269/1853\*.

*Waqā’i’ i Kūhistān*, an account of the Nepalese War in prose interspersed with narratives of the same events in *mathnawī* verse : I.O. 4020 (transcribed from the lithographed edition).

Edition : **Shāhjahanābād** [i.e. Delhi] 1269/1853\*.

815. M. **Ashraf Khān** was the second son of Nawwāb Dūndē<sup>5</sup> **Khān**, a Lāl-Khānī Rājput<sup>6</sup> *ra’īs* of Kamaunah (now in the Bulandshahr District), who in his fort at Kamaunah offered a

<sup>1</sup> For whom see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* pp. 155–6.

<sup>2</sup> *Waqā’i’ i Kūhistān* p. 4 : *dar ān zamān ba-hamrahī i Āqā-yi mauṣūf ba-kār i nawisht u khuwānd i khuṭūt u parwānah-jāt u intizām i muhimmāt maṣrūf . . . būd.*

<sup>3</sup> *W. i K.* p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> *W. i K.*, title-page.

<sup>5</sup> For the spelling of Dūndē see *‘Imād al-sa’adat* p. 40<sup>10</sup> : *Dūndē Khān bā dāl i muhmalah u wāw i ma’rūf u nūn i maghnūnah u dāl i muhmalah u yā i majhūl.*

<sup>6</sup> This Dūndē **Khān** is to be distinguished from the Rohillah chieftain of the same name, who was associated with Bisaulī in the Badāyūn District and who died in 1770 (see the Badaun District Gazetteer, p. 148).



stubborn resistance to the British at the time of the conquest of the Dōāb in 1803-6. In the Vikramī year 1860 (A.D. 1803) Ashraf Khān was twelve years old. When his father evacuated Kamaunah and afterwards Gannaurī, they crossed the Jumna to Rājputānah and took part in military operations in Jaipūr and elsewhere.

*Ashraf-nāmah*, an account of Dūndē Khān's military exploits.

Edition : Kōl 1271/1854°\*.

816. "Farāsū", who wrote the *Fath-nāmah i Angrēz*, is probably identical with the Farāsū or Faransū, who is mentioned as an Urdu poet by Sprenger (p. 227) on the authority of the Urdu *tadhkirahs* 'Iyār al-shu'arā' and *Gulshan i bē-khār* and also by Garcin de Tassy (i pp. 444-5, iii p. 373). He was in the service of the Bēgam Samrū (who died in 1836 : see p. 691 *infra*) and was a European. His surname is given in corrupt forms (Captain François Akden (?) a son of Gobinet ; Faraçu ou Fransu, fils de Gûst (Auguste) ou de Gûstîn (Augustin)) by Sprenger and Garcin de Tassy, but there seems to be little doubt that he is Farāsū Gōtlib, i.e. Francis Gottlieb, a German born in Poland and educated in India, who wrote in Persian a history of the Jāt Rājahs of Bharatpūr (see p. 690 *infra*).

*Zafar al-zafar*, or *Fath-nāmah i Angrēz*, a poetical account of the Indian Mutiny, begun on 9 May 1857 : Bānkipūr Suppt. i no. 1949 (19th cent.), Ivanow Curzon 317 (19th cent.).

817. Mīrzā Asad Allāh Khān "Ghālib", who was born at Āgrah in 1212/1797 and died at Delhi in 1285/1869, has already been mentioned (pp. 525-7 *supra*) as the author of the *Mihr i nīm-rūz*.

*Dastanbūy*, reminiscences of the Mutiny at Delhi.

Editions : Bareilly 1871\*, [Lucknow,] 1871°\* (in the *Kulliyāt i nathr i Ghālib* pp. 377-416), Cawnpore 1884† (in the *Kulliyāt i nathr i Ghālib*), 1888\* (in the *Kulliyāt i nathr i Ghālib*).

818. A Muḥammadan, who conceals his name, wrote his



*Zafar-nāmah i waqā'i' i Ghadr* in 1276/1859 for the information of the Secretary of State for India and the Members of Council.

*Zafar-nāmah i waqā'i' i Ghadr*, a short history of the Indian Mutiny: **Ethé** 431 (A.H. 1285/1869).

819. **M. Bashīr Lak'hnavī** <sup>1</sup>.

*Tadhkirah i ghadr i Hind . . . mausūm bah Ṣaḥīfah i wālā-qadrī u Ā'inah i ḥairat-numā*, a history of the Indian Mutiny.

Edition: **Lucknow** 1282/1865°.

820. Nawwāb **Amīr 'Alī Khān Bahādur** was born at his ancestral home, Bārḥ near Patṇah, in 1810. In 1829 he became Assistant (at Calcutta) to the Ambassador of the King of Oudh, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaidar, in 1845 Government Pleader in the *Ṣadr Dīwānī 'Adālat*, in 1857 special Assistant to the Commissioner of Patṇah and in 1864 *Khān Bahādur* (a title conferred by the Government) and Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. In 1867 he entered the service of the deposed King of Oudh, then living near Calcutta, and rendered valuable service in connexion with the settlement of his debts. He was appointed *Madār al-mahāmm* and received the title of *Wazīr al-Sultān*. In 1875 he was made a Nawwāb and in Nov. 1879 he died. For his *Wazīr-nāmah*, a work on the history of Oudh and especially the life of Wājid 'Alī Shāh, see p. 712 *infra*.

(1) *Amīr-nāmah*, memoirs of the author, preceded by a brief history of British rule in India, with an abstract translation in English.

Editions: **Calcutta** 1870[-71]°, 1874°\* (enlarged).

(2) *Bēring-nāmah*, a life of Thomas George Baring, 1st Earl of Northbrook, Viceroy of India 1872-6.

Edition: **Calcutta** 1876\*.

[*Amīr-nāmah*; *Wazīr-nāmah*; *Shamī i anjuman* pp. 73-4;

<sup>1</sup> The *nisbah* is followed by a query in the B.M. catalogue, but whether this indicates doubt concerning the *nisbah* or concerning M. Bashīr's authorship of the *Tadhkirah i ghadr i Hind* is not clear.



Loke Nath Ghose *The modern history of the Indian chiefs, rajas, zamindars, etc.*, pt. ii, Calcutta 1881, pp. 14-18; Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 12.]

821. Munshī **Bishan Lal** "Nāzir" completed his *Qaiṣarī-nāmah* in 1297/1880.

*Qaiṣarī-nāmah*, a poetical account of events in India under Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon : **Rieu** Suppt. 372 (circ. A.D. 1880).

## HISTORY OF INDIA : (e) THE TĪMŪRIDS ETC. : APPENDIX

822. (1) Biographical notices of M. **Khān Bangash** and his sons, on S. Sa'adat **Khān Burhān al-Mulk** and his successors, on 'Alī M. **Khān Rōhēlah**, **Najīb al-Daulah**, **Mīrzā Najaf Khān**, **Ja'far Khān Naṣīrī**, afterwards **Murshid-Qulī Khān**, and his successors in Bengal, and some other *amīrs*, followed by an account of the *Marāṭ'hās*, *Sik'hs*, *Jāts* and the English, written circ. A.H. 1197/1783 by an unnamed author : **Rieu** ii 798b xi (foll. 120-5. A.H. 1197/1783).

(2) *Ḥang-nāmah i Dakan*, a detailed diary of the operations in southern India under Colonel Camac, without author's name or preface : **Bodleian** 282 (defective at end).

(3) Poem on the wars between the British and the states of Central and Southern India at the beginning of the 19th century (beginning *Ba-nām kih nām-ash har nāmah* [sic]) : **Vollers** 991 (defective at end).

(4) *Riyād al-mulūk*, a collection of historical anecdotes relating mainly to India compiled by M. **Ghauth** b. M. **Fā'iq** for **Tīmūr Shāh** b. **Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī** and divided into a *muqaddimah*, two *raudahs* and a *khātimah* : **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1249/1833. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (August 1926) p. 48).

(5) *Tuḥfah i Akbarī*, a history of the *Nizāms*, of the *Tīmūrids* from **Aḥmad Shāh** to **Shāh-'Ālam**, and of the *Panjāb*



from the rise of the Sik'hs, written apparently in 1219/1804-5 by Khawājah 'Abd al-Ḥakīm: see p. 753 *infra*.

(6) Work of unknown authorship and title divided into three *bābs*, of which the first two treat of the relations between the East India Co. and various Hindu rulers since the Faṣlī year 1182 (= A.D. 1775), while the third is devoted to the art of siege-warfare among the Indians of former days (*sardārān i salaf*): **Berlin** 521.

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (f) SIND

823. 'Alī b. Ḥāmid b. Abī Bakr al-Kūfī, having been compelled by adverse circumstances to leave his native land, settled at Uchh. In his fifty-eighth year, A.H. 613/1216-7, or not long after, he conceived the idea of writing an account of the Muḥammadan conquest of Sind and went to Alōr and Bhakkar with a view to obtaining information on the subject. Maulānā Qāḍī Ismā'il b. 'Alī Thaqafī, a descendant of one of the conquerors, showed him an Arabic book composed (or transcribed) by one of his ancestors. 'Alī b. Ḥāmid translated this book into Persian and dedicated the translation to 'Ain al-Mulk Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥusain b. Abī Bakr al-Ash'arī, who was *Wazīr* to the ruler of Sindh, Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubāchah.

*Chach-nāmah*,<sup>1</sup> as it is usually called, or *Tārīkh i Hind* or *Fath-nāmah*, as it is called in the preface, a historical romance telling the story of Chach, the Rājah of Alōr, and the conquest of Sind by M. b. Qāsim al-Thaqafī, A.H. 92/710: **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1061/1651. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 56), **Rieu** i 290b (a fragment (foll. 25) only. 19th cent.), iii 948b (A.H. 1248/1832), **Bloch** i 630 (1st half of 19th cent.), **Bānkipūr** vii 597 (A.H. 1272/1856), **Ivanow** 184 (A.D. 1871), **Ethé** 435 (n.d.).

<sup>1</sup> Rieu states that according to the *Ṭabaqāt i Akbarī* [beginning of *Ṭabaqah* viii] the original title was *Minhāj al-masālik*.



According to Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i p. 137 the *Chach-nāmah* is common in India.

English translation : *The Chachnamah, an ancient history of Sind, giving the Hindu period down to the Arab Conquest. Translated . . . by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg. . . . Karāchi 1900°* (a continuation translated from other Persian sources and entitled *A history of Sind. Volume II* was published by Mīrzā Qilīch Bēg in 1902, *The Chachnamah* being by an afterthought regarded as *A History of Sind. Volume I*).

Translated extracts : (1) *Account of the expedition of Chach . . . extracted from the Chach Nameh . . . by Ensign Postans*<sup>1</sup> (in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vii (1838) pp. 93-96, 297-310), (2) *Of the early history of Sindh, from the "Chuch Namuh" and other authorities. [Translated] By Lieut. Postans*<sup>1</sup> (in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. x (1841) pp. 183-97, 267-71), (3) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i pp. 138-211.

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i pp. 131-7.

824. Mīr M. Ma'sūm "Nāmī" b. S. Ṣafā'ī al-Ḥusainī al-Tirmidhī al-Bhakkārī, the son of a *Shaiḫ al-Islām* at Bhakkar, went to Gujrāt some time after his father's death, which occurred in 991/1583, and became a friend of the historian Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (for whom see p. 433 *supra*). He entered Akbar's service and in the 40th regnal year, A.H. 1003-4/1595-6, was given a *manṣab* of 250. In 1012/1603-4 he was sent on a mission to Shāh 'Abbās, and after his return Jahāngīr gave him the title of Amīn al-Mulk. He returned to Bhakkar in 1015/1606-7 and died there soon after.

According to 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī he was the author of a *dīwān* and of a *mathnawī* in the metre of ["Jāmī's"] *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā*. According to Taqī Kāshī [as summarised in Sprenger

<sup>1</sup> "Even the later professed translations by Lieutenant Postans, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. LXXIV., 1838, and No. CXI., 1841) give merely an abridged account of the transactions, which is moreover unfortunately disfigured by many misprints" (Elliot and Dowson i p. 137).



p. 37] he wrote two *dīwāns* of *ghazals*, two *sāqī-nāmahs* and five *mathnawīs* ((1) *Husn u Nāz* in the metre of *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā*, (2) *Parī-ṣūrat* in the metre of *Lailā Majnūn*, (3)-(5) [titles not stated] in the metres of the *Haft paikar*, the *Sikandar-nāmah* and the *Makhzan al-asrār*). In the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* the title of the last, the only one there mentioned, is given as *Ma'din al-afkār*. There seem to be no recorded manuscripts of these works except possibly the *Dīwān i Nāmī* described by Flügel (i no. 629), which is shown by the chronograms which it contains to be by a poet of the tenth century, and less probably the apparently different *Dīwān i Nāmī* described by Dorn (no. 475 (1) transcribed in 1043/1634). A short medical work of his, the *Mufradāt i Ma'sūmī* or *Mufradāt i Nāmī*, has been preserved (see Bānkīpūr xi no. 985, Ivanow 1550).

*Tārīkh i Sind*, often called *Tārīkh i Ma'sūmī*, a history of Sind from the Muḥammadan conquest to its annexation by Akbar divided into four chapters called *juz'* ((1) the conquest of Sind, (2) its history under the governors appointed by the Kings of Hindūstān to 801/1399 and under the Sūmrah and Sammah dynasties to 916/1510, (3) the Arghūn dynasty to the death of Sultān Maḥmūd Khān in 982/1574 and some rulers of Tattah to 993/1585, (4) history of Sind from 982/1574 to Akbar's annexation and of the subsequent governors to A.H. 1008/1599-1600): **Ivanow** 185 (A.H. 1046/1636-7), **Rehatsek** p. 71 no. 7, (A.H. 1080/1669-70), **Rieu** i 291a (17th cent.), 292a (17th cent.), 292a (18th cent.), iii 949a (A.D. 1849), 949a (with some additional matter. A.D. 1851), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1159/1746. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 56), **Ethé** 436 (A.H. 1186/1772), 437 (A.H. 1216/1802), **Ross and Browne** 239 (circ. A.D. 1864), **I.O.** 3747, 3873, 3916, **R.A.S.** P. 70 = Morley 59 (A.H. 1233/1817), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 226 nos. 292 (A.H. 1227/1812), 674, iii p. 96 no. 1373, **Lindesiana** p. 194 no. 377 (A.H. 1247/1831-2), **Bloch** i 632 (A.H. 1260/1844), **Bānkīpūr** vii 599 (19th cent.).

Edition: *Ta'rīkh-i-Sind*, best known as *Ta'rīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*, by Sazzid Muhammad Ma'sūm Bakkarī . . . edited . . . by U. M. Daudpota. **Poona** 1938 (Bhandarkar Institute).



English translation<sup>1</sup>: *A history of Sind . . . written . . . by Mahomed Masoom; and translated . . . by Captain G. G. Malet . . . assisted by Peer Mahomed . . . Edited by R. H. Thomas. Bombay 1855*<sup>o</sup>\* (Selections from the records of the Bombay Government. No. xiii.—New series).

Sind'hī translation: by Munshī Nandīrām, place ? 1861 (see *The Chachnamah . . . translated . . . by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Karāchī 1900*<sup>o</sup>, p. ii).

Translations of extracts: (1) Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i pp. 215–52, (2) *A history of Sind. Volume II (in two parts). Part I.—Giving the Mussulman period from the Arab Conquest to the beginning of the reign of the Kalhórahhs [from the Tārīkh i Ma'sūmī and the Tuhfat al-kirām]. Part II—Giving the reigns of the Kalhórahhs and the Tālpurs down to the British Conquest [from the Tuhfat al-kirām, the Fath-nāmah of M. 'Azīm, and the Frīr-nāmah]. Translated [or summarised] from Persian books by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg . . . Karāchī 1902*<sup>o</sup>.

[*Tabaqāt i Akbarī* ii p. 500; *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* iii pp. 364–75; *Akbar-nāmah* iii p. 424 (continuation), p. 836; *Ā'in i Akbarī* p. 230 no. 329 (merely his name in the list of *Dū-ṣad-u-panjāhīs*), Blochmann's trans. p. 514 (the fullest biography in English); Taqī Kāshī *Khulāṣat al-ash'ār*, appendix ix (summarised Sprenger p. 37); *Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bodl. 376 no. 460); *Riyād al-shu'arā'* (Ivanow Curzon 57 no. 1635); 'Alī Shēr "Qānī" *Maqālāt al-shu'arā'*, near the end; Idem *Tuhfat al-kirām*, towards the end of *Mujallad* iii; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 326–9; *Ṣuḥuf i Ibrāhīm*; *Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 2754; Morley pp. 72–3; Sprenger pp. 37, 65; Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i p. 213; *Haft āsmān* pp. 126–7; Rieu i p. 291; Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary* p. 269; Nizāmī Badāyūnī *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (in Urdu) ii p. 201.]

<sup>1</sup> For some remarks on this translation see Elliot and Dowson i pp. 214–15: "This work has been translated by Capt. G. Malet . . ., but so literally, as not to be fit for publication in its present shape. [There is a copy of this translation in Sir H. Elliot's library, which, on examination, is found to contain matter that is entirely absent from all the five MSS. above specified. . . .]"



825. “**Idrākī**” Bēg-Lārī **Tattawī**, of the Arghūn tribe, was the author of a *mathnawī* entitled **CHNYR-nāmah**,<sup>1</sup> which he composed in 1010/1601–2, as is shown by a hemistich quoted in the *Maqālāt al-shu‘arā’* by ‘Alī Shēr “Qānī’”, who had seen no other poems by this author. ‘Alī Shēr “Qānī’” does not mention the *Bēg-Lār-nāmah* in his short notice of “Idrākī”, nor is the author’s name mentioned in the *Bēg-Lār-nāmah* itself. The work is, however, ascribed to Idrākī T’hattawī in a manuscript (B.M. Or. 2073, Rieu iii p. 1061) containing notices of 29 MSS. in the library of the Mullās of Tattah, which was drawn up for Sir H. M. Elliot in 1266 by S. Šābir ‘Alī, a grandson of ‘Alī Shēr “Qānī’”.

*Bēg-Lār-nāmah*, a biography of **Khān i Zamān Amīr** (or **Shāh**) Qāsim **Khān** b. Amīr S. Qāsim Bēg-Lār, a military commander who flourished under the Tarkhān rulers in Akbar’s time and who had reached his seventieth year in 1017/1608–9, the date of composition (though there are later additions): **Bloch** i 631<sup>2</sup> (A.H. 1078/1667), **Bānkīpūr** vii 598 (A.H. 1233/1818), **Rieu** iii 949b (A.H. 1265/1849), **I.O.** 4398 (lacunæ. A.H. 1269/1852). Three copies in Sind were known to Sir H. M. Elliot.

Description and 7 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i pp. 289–99.

[‘Alī Shēr “Qānī’” *Maqālāt al-shu‘arā’* (I.O. 4398 fol. 4b); Rieu iii 1096b (*ad* p. 949b).]

826. Mīr **Tāhir Muḥammad “Nisyānī”** b. S. Ḥasan, of Tattah, was in the service of Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg Tarkhān “Waqārī” (Governor of Sind A.H. 1008/1599–1018/1609), and was in his twenty-fifth year when at the time of Akbar’s death, A.H. 1014/1605, he received permission to return to Tattah, his native town. He there devoted himself to the study of the Persian

<sup>1</sup> It appears from what “Qānī’” says about this *mathnawī* that **CHNYR** [? = **Chunair**, possibly an arbitrary diminutive of **Chandar**] is the name of a person, the husband of Līlā. The name does not occur in the verses quoted by “Qānī’” from the *mathnawī*.

<sup>2</sup> The reference in the **Bānkīpūr** catalogue to “Rosen, p. 366” seems to be a mistake for **Bloch** pp. 364–6, i.e. vol. i no. 631.



poets under Maulānā Ishāq al-Bhakkārī. It was at the request of Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad Bēg 'Ādil Khān, eldest son of Shāh Bēg Khān Arghūn (Governor of Qandahār A.H. 1002/1593—1028/1619 and of Tattah A.H. 1028/1619), that he began in 1021/1612–13 his *Tārīkh i Tāhirī*, which he completed in 1030/1620–1, being then in his fortieth year.

*Tārīkh i Tāhirī*, a history of Tattah from the earliest times to A.H. 1018/1609: **Bānkipūr** vii 600 (A.H. 1223/1808), **Rieu** i 292b (lacuna near beginning. 19th cent.), iii 949b (19th cent.).

Description and 33 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i pp. 253–88.

827. Mīrzā M. Ṣāliḥ Tarkhān b. Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān (who became Ṣūbah-dār of Tattah in 1061/1651 and who was a great-grandson of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān, the founder of the Tarkhān dynasty extinguished by Akbar), desiring to read an early history of his ancestors entitled *Tarkhān-nāmah*, asked **S. Jamāl** b. Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusainī al-Shirāzī to find a copy of this book. S. Jamāl was unsuccessful, and therefore he wrote in 1065/1654–5<sup>1</sup> a *Tarkhān-nāmah* of his own, which he compiled from a number of works mentioned in his preface, but mainly, according to Elliot and Dowson i p. 301, from M. Ma'sūm's *Tārīkh i Sind* (for which see p. 652 *supra*).

*Tarkhān-nāmah*,<sup>2</sup> a history of the Arghūn and Tarkhān rulers of Sind (A.H. 926/1520–961/1554 and 961/1554–1000/1592 respectively) preceded by an account of their Mongol ancestors and continued to the death of Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān in 1061/1651 and the succession of his son Mīrzā M. Ṣāliḥ to the Ṣūbah-dārī of Tattah: **Rieu** iii 950a (A.H. 1265/1849), 950a (circ. A.D. 1850), 950b (19th cent.), **I.O.** 3871 (19th cent.).

Description and 23 pp. of translated extracts: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* i pp. 300–26.

<sup>1</sup> According to Rieu this date is mentioned incidentally in the genealogical tables. There are no such tables in I.O. 3871.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes called *Arghūn-nāmah*.



828. Mīr 'Alī Shēr "Qānī" Tattawī was born in 1140/1727-8 and was still alive in 1202/1787-8 (see p. 138 *supra*). In addition to the works mentioned on p. 138 he wrote *I'lān i gham*, an account of the martyrs of Karbalā', *Maklī-nāmah*, notices of the saints of Mount Maklī, and a *Mukhtār-nāmah* (see Rieu iii p. 1061b).

(1) *Tuhfat al-kirām* (a chronogram = 1180/1766-7, the date of inception, A.H. 1181 being given as the date of completion, but later dates (e.g. 1188) occur), a history in three volumes (*mujallad*), of which the first is a general history from the earliest times, the second an account of the seven climates in the manner of the *Haft iqlīm* with notices of the celebrated men of the principal countries and cities, and the third a special history of Sind<sup>1</sup>: **Bānkipūr** vi 479 (A.H. 1233/1817-18), **Rieu** ii 846a (A.H. 1246/1830), iii 950b (vol. i only. A.D. 1851), 950b (vol. ii only. 19th cent.), 950b (vol. iii only. A.H. 1261/1845), 950b (vol. iii only. A.H. 1266/1850), **I.O.** 4535 (vol. iii only. A.H. 1295/1878).

Edition (of vols. ii and iii only): **Lucknow** 1304/1886-7\* (3 vols.).<sup>2</sup>

Translations of extracts: see p. 139 *supra*.

(2) *Tārīkh i 'Abbāsīyah*, two histories of the Kalhōrah

<sup>1</sup> More than half of this volume is predominantly biographical.

<sup>2</sup> The first volume of this edition, though ostensibly a part of the *Tuhfat al-kirām*, has in reality nothing to do with that work, being a topographical account of Aḥmadābād followed by biographies of Gujrātī saints. It is in fact approximately the first half of the *khātimah* of the *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī* and corresponds to pp. 1-129<sup>14</sup> in the Baroda edition. There are two copies of this lithograph in the India Office. They differ in the title-page of vol. ii, the inscription in the one case giving the Maṭba' i Ḥasanī [?] Ithnā-'Asharī, Maḥallah Farrāsh-khānah, Wazīr-ganj, Lucknow, as the place of printing and in the other case merely the Maṭba' i Ḥasanī [so] Ithnā-'Asharī without any further topographical information (*Dar Maṭba' i Ḥasanī Ithnā-'Asharī raunaq i tab' yāft*). It is only on the title-page of vol. ii in its first-mentioned form that Lucknow is specified as the place of printing. Vol. iii has the imprint Nāṣirī Press, Dalhā'ī [presumably a part of Lucknow]. No press or place of publication is mentioned on the title-page of vol. i (which title-page is missing from the first I.O. copy). The edition is mentioned by Mīrzā Qilich Bēg in his translation of the *Chach-nāmah* (see p. 650 *supra*), preface, p. iii n.: "This book was printed some years ago without the permission of the heirs of the author, and several copies were disposed of secretly."



dynasty, one in prose and the other in verse, both unfinished :  
**Rieu** iii 1061b (extracts only).

829. M. 'Azim al-Din Husaini Shirazi Tattawi lived in the reign of Mir Fath-'Ali Khān Tālpur, ruler of Sind from 1197/1783 to 1216/1801.

*Fath-nāmah*, a metrical history of the 'Abbāsī or Tālpur<sup>1</sup> Amirs of Sind, written in 1199/1785<sup>2</sup> and dedicated to Mir Fath-'Ali Khān<sup>3</sup> : **Ivanow** Curzon 303 (defective. Early 19th cent.), **Rieu** iii 1041a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1056a xv (extracts only).

Condensed English translation : *A history of Sind. Volume II* . . . Translated from Persian books by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg. **Karāchi** 1902°, pp. 165–202.

830. Of unknown authorship is  
*(Tawārīkh i 'Abbāsiyān)*,<sup>4</sup> a sketch of the history of the Kalhōrah dynasty to about 1226/1811, the last event for which a date is given being the death of Miyān M. 'Ali Khān b. M. 'Arif Khān b. Miyān 'Abd al-Nabī Khān in that year : **I.O.** D.P. 755 foll. 13–20.

831. **Muzaffar 'Ali.**

*Short account of the decline of the Kalhōrah dynasty and the rise of the Tālpurs* : no MSS. recorded.

English translation : *A narrative of events which led to the decline and subversion of the Sovereignty of the former Rulers of Sind,—and to the usurpation of that State by its present possessors, who are of the tribe of Bulooch—originally from Talpoor. Translated from the Persian by Captain Pogson (extracted from the Calcutta Magazine). Pp. 272–88. [Calcutta 1831\*.]*

<sup>1</sup> So called as the descendants of Tālō Khān.

<sup>2</sup> In 1191 according to Rieu, but this seems to be incorrect, perhaps a misprint.

<sup>3</sup> According to Rieu the poem "has been subsequently continued to his death in A.H. 1203", but there is evidently some mistake here, since Mīr Fath-'Ali Khān died in Muharram 1217/1802.

<sup>4</sup> This title or description is scrawled at the top of the first page.



832. Mu'izz al-Daulah Mu'in al-Mulk Firūz-Jang **Mir Šūbadār Khān** was the son of Mir Fath-'Alī **Khān** Tālpur, ruler of Sind from 1197/1783 to 1216/1801. A mystical *mathnawī* entitled *Judā'ī-nāmah* by "Mir Soubdarkhan, émir du Sind" is described in Blochet iii no. 1933, but it is not clear whether its author was the same Šūbadār **Khān**.<sup>1</sup>

*Fath-nāmah*, a metrical history of the Tālpurs, especially of Mir Fath-'Alī **Khān**, completed in 1254/1838 (?): **Bānkipūr** Suppt. i 1931 (Bengali year 1253/1846).

833. Mir **Yār-Muḥammad Khān** was a son of Mir Murād 'Alī **Khān** Tālpur, Ruler of Sind from 1244/1828 to 1249/1833, and on his father's death became, like each of his three brothers, the ruler of a quarter of Sind. In 1259/1843, after the conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier, Mir Yār-Muḥammad **Khān** was taken, like the other Mīrs, as a state prisoner first to Bombay and then to the village of Sasūr, about 24 miles from Poonah. In 1260/1844 they were taken to Calcutta and shortly after Mir Yār-Muḥammad **Khān** accepted the choice of living at Hazaribagh. In 1270/1854 the East India Company gave the Mīrs permission to return to Sind, if they liked, and in Rajab 1273/Feb.-March 1857 Mir Yār-Muḥammad **Khān** reached Haidarābād.

*Frīr-nāmah*, a history of Sind in the time of the Tālpur dynasty based in its earlier part on the *Fath-nāmah* and in its later part on personal experience, written in 1857 [1859?]<sup>2</sup> and dedicated to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bartle Frere, with whose Commissionership the work ends: no MSS. recorded.

Condensed English translation: *A history of Sind. Volume II . . . translated from Persian books by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg . . .*, **Karāchi** 1902°, pp. 202-39.

<sup>1</sup> Mir Fath-'Alī **Khān**'s father was called Šūbadār **Khān**.

<sup>2</sup> Mirzā Qilich Bēg says that the *Frere-nāmah* was written in 1857 but it apparently extends to 1859, since the last sentence of his "translation" is "Mr. Frere became Governor of Bombay and left Sind in 1859, when he was succeeded by Mr. Inverarity" (with the footnote "The Frerenāmah which we have been translating, ends here").



[*A history of Sind. Volume II . . . translated from Persian books by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg*, pp. ii, 220, 221, 237, 238.]

834. Khān Bahādur Khudā-dād Khān son of Rādō Khān (otherwise Ridā M. Khān), an Afghān of the Tarīn tribe, entered the service of Government in 1853, and in 1855 he was employed in the Jāgīr and Political Department. He served for many years with credit as Mīr Munshī to the Commissioner in Sind. In 1892 he received the title of Khān Bahādur and on his retirement in 1899 to his home at Sukkur he was given a *jāgīr*. He says that in 1862 he published a *Makrān-nāmah* and in 1867 a *Khalīj-nāmah* on the Persian Gulf. In 1869 he was ordered to write an account of the famous ruined places in Sind. This account, he says, was translated into English and published. Another work of his, *Waqā'ī' al-sair i Jaisalmēr*, an account of a tour in 1859, was published at Karāchī in 1875\*.

*Lubb i tārīkh i Sindh* (on English title-page *Lab [sic] tarikh Sind*), a history of Sind from the earliest times to A.H. 1318/1900, the date of completion, with a summary in English.

Edition : **Amritsar** 1318/1900\*.

[Autobiographical statements in the *Lubb i tārīkh i Sind*; *Ṣahīfah i zarrīn* (in Urdu) by Prāg Narāyan Bhārgava, Lucknow 1902, Bombay section, pp. 52-3; Portrait, *ibid.* facing p. 49.]

835. Other works :

(1) *Naẓārat al-Sind*, i.e. *Personal observations on Sindh* by Lieut. T. Postans (London 1843\*) translated into Persian by Bishan Narāyan, who added a few notes on subsequent events down to 1858 : **Ivanow** 186 (A.D. 1859).

(2) *Tawārīkh i tāzah-nawā'ī*, a history of Sind, by Mirzā 'Atā Muḥammad Shikārpūrī : **Rieu** iii 1040b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (g) BAHĀWALPŪR

836. Lālah **Daulat Rāy**, son of Lālah 'Izzat Rāy, whose father had been in the service of Nawwāb M. Mubārak Khān, was deprived of his ancestral *madad i ma'āsh*, the *ta'alluq* of



Jalālābād, by Rukn al-Daulah Bahāwal Khān II (A.H. 1186/1772–1224/1809). He migrated to Multān and there he continued the history of Bahāwalpūr on which he had been engaged. In consequence of the periodical invasions of Ranjīt Sing'h he went to Haidarābād in Sind, and served under the Amīrs Karam-‘Alī Khān and Murād-‘Alī Khān. Subsequently, however, he returned to Bahāwalpūr and was living there under Bahāwal Khān and Ṣādiq Khān (A.H. 1224–41). He died in 1246/1830.

*Mir’āt i daulat i ‘Abbāsī* (a chronogram = 1224/1809, but the work was completed in 1227/1812), a history of the ‘Abbāsī Dāwud-putras, the ruling dynasty of Bahāwalpūr, down to 1224/1809<sup>1</sup>: **R.A.S.** P. 90 = Morley 88 (A.H. 1247/1831–2), **Bānkīpūr** Suppt. i no. 1774 (A.H. 1262/1846), **Rieu** iii 951a (19th cent.).

Edition: **Delhi** 1850<sup>o</sup>\* (differs materially from the B.M. MS.).

[Autobiography in *Mir’āt i daulat i ‘Abbāsī*, appendix (apparently absent from the B.M. and Bānkīpūr MSS.); M. A‘zam *Iqbāl-nāmah i sa‘ādat-āyāt* (cf. **Rieu** iii p. 951a<sup>22–30</sup>); Morley pp. 90–1; **Rieu** iii 951a.]

837. WDYRH<sup>2</sup> **Jān Muḥammad Khān Ma‘rūfānī**.

*Tārīkh i Bahāwal Khān*, a history of Bahāwal Khān II (A.H. 1186/1772–1224/1809): **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Aug. 1926), p. 57).

838. **M. A‘zam** b. Maulawī M. Ṣāliḥ **Asadī Hāshimī Fārūqī** Bahāwalpūrī tells us that in Nawwāb Ṣādiq Khān’s second year, A.H. 1225–6/1810–11, he was sent by the Nawwāb on a mission to the Tālpur Amīrs, who were then threatening Bahāwalpūr, and subsequently to Multān. His *Iqbāl-nāmah i sa‘ādat-āyāt* was undertaken by order of Ṣādiq Khān, who instructed him “to embody in the same a record of the first two years of the reign left in an unfinished state by Lālah Daulat Rāi” (**Rieu** iii

<sup>1</sup> “It is not merely a history of the Nawābs of Bhāwalpūr, but comprehends that of Sind, Afghānistan, Multān, Jūdhpūr and the Sikhs, during an eventful period as regards our western frontier of India” (Morley p. 92).

<sup>2</sup> Vocalisation and meaning of this word not ascertained.



p. 952a). According to the *Bahawalpur State Gazetteer*, p. 62, he was appointed *Tawārīkh-nawīs*, or Chronicler, by Nawwāb Ṣādiq M. Khān II in 1809. In the B.M. MS. Or. 1740, foll. 98-9 (Rieu iii p. 1013a iii), are the beginnings of a *Tadhkirat al-khawāqīn*, written in 1251/1835-6, and a *Tārīkh i Kashmīr*,<sup>1</sup> both by Hājji M. A'zam Pashāwarī, who, according to Rieu (iii p. 1097a), is called at the end M. A'zam Asadī Hāshimī, and who is evidently therefore identical with the historian of Bahāwalpūr.

(1) *Iqbāl-nāmah i sa'ādat-āyāt* (beginning: *Zīb i fihrist i nuskhah i mafākhir*), a history of Ṣādiq Khān's reign, detailed for the first four or five years extremely brief for the years 1230/1815-1241/1826: Rieu iii 952a (19th cent.).

(2) *Jawāhir i 'Abbāsīyah*, "History of Bhawalpūr [sic]"<sup>2</sup>: *Lindesiana* p. 192 no. 924 ("2 vols. in 1." Circ. A.D. 1845).

839. In the time of M. Bahāwal Khān III was written

*Khulāṣah i tawārīkh i 'Abbāsīyah*, called in the colophon *Tawārīkh i Jawāhir i 'Abbāsīyah*<sup>3</sup> (beginning: *Jahān jahān sitāyish*), abridged from a work by S. Nūr Allāh and divided into a *muqaddimah* (on the genealogy of the Khāns) and three *qisms* ((1) from Sulṭān Aḥmad II to the death of Mubārak Khān, (2) M. Bahāwal Khān II, (3) M. Ṣādiq Khān): *Browne Hand-list* 347 (88 foll. A.H. 1258/1842).

840. Mubārīz al-Daulah **Pir Ibrāhīm Khān Khwēshgī**<sup>4</sup> Qaṣūrī was born in 1794 at Qaṣūr, 34 miles S.E. of Lahore. In

<sup>1</sup> For a *Tārīkh i Kashmīr* written about 100 years earlier by a different M. A'zam see p. 683 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> By M. A'zam Asadī al-Hāshimī according to the *Lindesiana* catalogue. For a *Khulāṣah i tawārīkh i 'Abbāsīyah* called in the colophon *Tawārīkh i Jawāhir i 'Abbāsīyah*, and therefore possibly identical with M. A'zam's work (though the latter, consisting of "2 vols. in 1", seems likely to be a larger work than the former, which extends only to 88 foll.), see p. 661, l. 17, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> This title suggests the possibility that the work may be identical with the *Jawāhir i 'Abbāsīyah* which has just been mentioned, but the latter, consisting of "2 vols. in 1", would seem to be a larger work than the former, which extends to only 88 leaves.

<sup>4</sup> This is the name of an Afghān clan.



1808, the year following Ranjīt Sing'h's annexation of Qaṣūr, he migrated with his father and other relatives to Mamdōṭ. In 1817 he entered Ranjīt Sing'h's service, but failing to win such promotion as he desired, he went to Delhi and studied medicine. In 1837 he entered the service of the East India Company, and in 1840 he was appointed British Agent at the court of Bahāwalpūr. At the time of the First Sik'h War (1845-6) he rendered valuable services, for which he was rewarded with a *khil'at* and the title of Khān Bahādur. In 1848 he took the Bahāwalpūr forces to support Herbert Edwardes in the operations against Multān, where Mūlrāj was besieged after the murder of Vans Agnew and Anderson. Edwardes speaks highly of him in *A year on the Punjab frontier in 1848-9*.

In 1851 he visited England, but a breakdown in health forced him to leave the country in January 1852. Soon after his return to Bahāwalpūr the title of Mubārīz al-Daulah was conferred upon him. He died in 1856.

A brief account of his visit to England together with a short history of his tribe was published by him in 1854<sup>1</sup> under the title *Sairistān* (see *Islamic culture* iii no. 3 (July 1929) pp. 454, 472). His autobiography<sup>2</sup> published in English by E. B. Eastwick in January 1852, that is to say, just about the time when he left England on his return to India, was presumably written in Persian.<sup>3</sup>

(*Tārīkh i Bahāwalpūr*),<sup>4</sup> "an abbreviation of the family annals of Nawab Bahawal Khan" (see p. 663, n. 1, *infra*) written at the request of Captain J. D. Cunningham: MS. at one time in the possession of Capt. Cunningham.

Abridged translation: *The History of Bahawalpur, with notices of the adjacent countries of Sindh, Afghanistan, Multan, and the*

<sup>1</sup> At [Bahāwalpūr] according to the British Museum catalogue, at Multān according to M. Shafī. In the B.M. catalogue the work is mistakenly entered under "Mubārīz ul-Daulah, Nawab of Bahawalpur".

<sup>2</sup> See the list of authorities below.

<sup>3</sup> That Pīr Ibrāhīm Khān had little, if any, knowledge of English is shown by the fact that on his visit to England he was accompanied by an interpreter (see *Oriental College Magazine* v, no. 3, p. 3<sup>11</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> Correct title unknown.



*West of India*. [Abridged and translated<sup>1</sup> from Pīr I. Khān's history] *By Shahamet Ali*.<sup>2</sup> London 1848<sup>o</sup>\*.

[*Memoir of Peer Ibraheem Khan, Bahadur, British Agent at the Court of Bhawalpur*, London 1852\* (an autobiography. The I.O. copy bears on a fly-leaf the inscription "Presented to the Library of the E.I. College by E. B. Eastwick, Author of the *Memoir*, Jany 1852", which presumably means that Eastwick translated the work, probably from a manuscript); *Sairistān* (see above), Multān 1854; H. B. Edwardes *A year on the Punjab frontier in 1848-9*, London 1851, vol. ii, pp. 314, 319, 344, 377; *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State*, Lahore 1908, pp. 70, 71, 72, 74, 78, 80; *Mubāriz al-Daulah Pīr Ibrāhīm Khān Khwēshgī Qasūrī* (an Urdu article by M. Shafī in the *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. v, no. 3 (Lahore, May 1929) pp. 1-3. Portrait facing p. 1); *Islamic culture*, vol. iii, no. 3 (July 1929), p. 172 (in an article by M. Shafī entitled *An Afghan colony at Qasur*).]

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (h) THE PANJĀB

841. The *Janam-sāk'hī*, written in Panjābī, is a life of Gurū Nānak, the founder of the Sik'h religion. For information concerning it see Rieu i 293b and the works on the Sik'h religion cited by him.

<sup>1</sup> This work is not expressly said to be a translation from the Persian. According to Shahāmat 'Alī's Preface "The Work, of which the following is an abstract, is an abbreviation of the family annals of Nawab Bahawal Khan. It was abridged at Bahawalpur by Peer Ibrahim Khan, the British native agent there, at the request of Captain J. D. Cunningham . . . who is now our political agent at Bhopal. On his appointment to the latter agency in 1846, I became aware that he had some valuable Oriental MSS. in his possession, and asked him to give me some work, in which I might employ my leisure hours usefully to myself and to the public. He most liberally and readily gave me two MSS.; viz. one, the present work, and the other a religious book . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Shahāmat 'Alī was Persian Secretary to Sir C. M. Wade, whom he accompanied on missions to Bahāwalpūr (1833) and Peshawar (1839), and was afterwards *Mīr Munshī* to the Political Resident in Mālwah. He is the author of *The Sikhs and Afghans, in connexion with India and Persia, immediately before and after the death of Ranjeet Singh : from the journal of an expedition to Kabul, through the Panjab and the Khaibar Pass* (London 1847\*, 2nd ed. 1849\*).



*Janam-sāk'hī* : for the numerous editions of the Panjābī original see the catalogues of Panjābī books in the British Museum and the India Office.

Persian translation : *Janam-sāk'hī*, a condensed translation completed in 1806 by *Khwājah 'Abd al-Hakīm Khān*<sup>1</sup> at the request of Col. (afterwards Sir) John Malcolm and with the assistance of Agī Rām, a Nānakpant'hī *darwīsh* : *Rieu* i 293a (19th cent.).

Another Sik'h work translated presumably from the Panjābī and presumably by the same *Khwājah 'Abd al-Hakīm Khān* is

*Tarjamah i Mulāqāt i Nānak*, an account of Gurū Nānak's interviews with a number of holy personages of various times and countries : *Rieu* i 293b (19th cent.).

842. A certain *Ghulām-Muhyī 'l-Dīn*<sup>2</sup> wrote

*Futūhāt-nāmah i Šamadī* (a chronogram = 1135/1722-3), a florid biography of Saif al-Daulah 'Abd al-Šamad *Khān* Bahādur Dilēr-Jang,<sup>3</sup> who in Farrukh-siyar's reign (A.H. 1124/1713-1131/1719) became Governor of Lahore, crushed the Sik'hs and captured their leader Bandah in 1127/1715, became Governor of Multān in Muḥammad Shāh's seventh or eighth regnal year (A.H. 1137-9/1724-6) and died A.H. 1150/1737-8 (see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 514-17, Beveridge's translation pp. 71-3) : *Rieu* iii 970b (circ. A.D. 1850).

843. The *Aḥwāl i Dīnā Bēg Khān* was written by "an old Gooru at Khurturpore, who has also written a Punjabi dictionary, in which he has introduced no end of Hindu [? Hindee] words".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Possibly identical with the author of the *Tuhfah i Akbarī* (see pp. 752-3 *infra*).

<sup>2</sup> Possibly identical with *Ghulām-Muhyī 'l-Dīn Khān* who wrote a *Zafar-nāmah* on Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī's [first ?] invasion of India (see p. 395 *supra*).

<sup>3</sup> For a fragment of a chronicle written in Farrukh-siyar's reign and containing an account of that Emperor's accession in Delhi and of the expedition of 'Abd al-Šamad *Khān* against the Sik'hs, by an author who was serving at that time as *Nā'ib* under 'Arif Bēg *Khān*, Governor of Lahore, see p. 605 *supra* and *Rieu* ii 860b.

<sup>4</sup> According to a letter from J. C. Blagrove to Sir H. M. Elliot preserved with the MS.



*Aḥwāl i Dīnā Bēg Khān*, a life of Ādīnah Bēg, who served under Mu'īn al-Mulk, Governor of Lahore, against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1162/1749, was Governor of the *sūbah* for twelve years in the reign of 'Ālamgīr II and died in 1172/1758 : Rieu iii 1044a (A.D. 1847 ?).

Edition : *Oriental College Magazine* vol. xiv, no. 2 (Feb. 1938), *damīmāh* pp. 3-21 (edited, with notes, by M. Bāqir Malik).

English translation : B.M. MS. Add. 30,780 foll. 215-92.

Summary : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii p. 167 n.<sup>1</sup>

844. Major James Browne was sent from Calcutta to Delhi in 1784 as "English Minister at the Court of his Majesty Shah Alum". "Having met," he says, "with two Hindoos of considerable knowledge, who were natives of Lahore, where they had resided the greater part of their lives, and who had in their possession, accounts of the rise and progress of the Sicks, written in the *Nuggary* (or common Hindoo) character, I persuaded them to let me have a translation of one of them in the Persian language, abridging it as much as they could do, without injuring the essential purpose of information. . . . This Persian sketch of an history, I have translated into English." The Persian sketch referred to was the *Risālah i Nānak Shāh* of Bud'h Sing'h K'hatri, commonly called ('urf) Arōrah (or Arōrā), who describes himself as a servant of the Delhi court and an inhabitant of Lahore. He says that he was attached to the service of Major James Browne (Nawwāb Mu'īn al-Daulah Naṣīr al-Mulk Major James

<sup>1</sup> The summary is short enough to quote. "This Adina or Dina Beg Khān, whose name will frequently recur in these pages, was by caste an Arāin, and son of a man named Channū, an inhabitant of the village of Sarakpūr, near Lahore. He was brought up in a Mughal family, and in early life spent a good deal of his time at Allahabad, Cawnpore and Bajwāra. He became a soldier, but seems to have thrown aside that profession for revenue work. He was an able man and a good accountant, and he began as collector of the village of Kanak near Lūdhīyāna, from which humble position he advanced till he was made Governor of Sultanpur, an office which he held at the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion. He died without heirs at Khānpūr near Hoshiyārpur, where a fine tomb was erected over his remains. These particulars are extracted from a little work called *Ahwāl Adina Beg Khan*. . . ."



Browne Ṣāhib Angrēz Bahādur Ṣalābat-Jang) and that he was helped in the composition of his work by Lālah 'Ajā'ib Sing'h Sūraj.

*Risālah i Nānak Shāh*, an account of the Sik'hs to A.H. 1178/1764-5: **Bodleian** 281 (A.H. 1198/1784), **I.O.** 3959b (A.H. 1209/1794), **Bloch** iv 2331 pp. 272-3 (late 18th cent.), **Rieu** ii 860a (early 19th cent.), **Mehren** 65, **Browne** Coll. H. 23 (11) (3) (defective at end).

English translation: *History of the origin and progress of the Sicks* (the second of James Browne's *India tracts*, **London** 1788\*).

845. **M. Afdal** "Afdal" b. M. Ḥafīz was born at Sōd'hrah in the Siyālkōṭ District and died in 1210/1795-6 at Talwandī Mūsā Khān, in the Gūjrānwāla District, to which his father, "a man of great piety and learning," had been invited by Mūsā Khān, a local chief. A collection of his Persian and Urdu poems is in the possession of his descendants.

*Tārīkh i Jān Muḥammad*, a poem giving an account of a battle fought in 1204/1790 near Gūjrānwāla between Khān i Jahān entitled Sardār Khān and the infidels (i.e. probably the Sik'hs), in which Jān Muḥammad b. Mūsā Khān was killed: **Ethé** 2901 (circ. 1270/1853-4).

[M. Nāzim in the *JRAS.* 1927 pp. 846-7.]

846. Lālah or Pandit **Bakht-Mal** was the grandfather of Dīwān Amar Nāt'h "Akbarī" (for whom see pp. 668-70 *infra*). His father had migrated from Kāshmir to Lahore, where he had attained high position, but on the Governor's dismissal he had gone to Delhi. It was there probably that Bakht-Mal was born. It was at any rate from there that he went for a time to Oudh. Declining offers of employment from Āṣaf al-Daulah, he returned to Delhi. At the end of 1805, when Lord Lake drove Jaswant Rāo Hōlkar to the Bias and sent John Malcolm on a mission to Ranjīt Sing'h, Bakht-Mal accompanied Malcolm and wrote for his information a work on the Sik'hs. This work is referred to by him in the preface to his *Khālṣah-nāmāh*, where he says that "during the days of leisure he had enjoyed in the companionship of Bhāi La'l Singh" he had written a detailed history



of the Sik'hs, which was stolen by thieves when only half finished, and a short history, which was taken away by John Malcolm,<sup>1</sup> and that he had now written a third work of moderate size on the same subject. His grandson, Dīwān Amar Nāt'h, says<sup>2</sup> that he wrote works entitled (1) *Tilasm i shakar-rīz*, (2) *Bāgh i bā-bahār*, (3) *Lū'i-nāmah* (sic ?), and (4) *Sing'h-nāmah* (? *Sik'h-nāmah*).

(1) *A short history of the Sik'hs* from the time of Nānak to A.D. 1806, written for John Malcolm : R.A.S. P. 74 (2) = Morley 85.

(2) *Khāl[i]ṣah-nāmah*, a history of the Sik'hs to A.H. 1222/1807-8 : Rieu i 294a (A.H. 1229/1814).

[Autobiographical statements in the *Khālṣah-nāmah* (see Rieu i 294a ; Amar Nāt'h *Zafar-nāmah i Ranjīt Sing'h* pp. 36<sup>14</sup>-37, 93, editor's introduction pp. iii-iv.)]

847. *Khawush-waqt Rāy* was, according to H. T. Prinsep (*Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab*, Calcutta 1834, preface, p. x), "for many years the Agent and Intelligencer of the British Government at Umritsur." He himself says that he was in the service of the East India Company, and that he had been appointed official News-writer, *Waqā'i'-nigār*, for the Panjāb. According to the B.M. manuscript his history of the Sik'hs was written at the request of Colonel (afterwards General Sir) David Ochterlony. In the I.O. manuscript a space left for the name of the person at whose suggestion the work was written has been filled with the name and Persian titles of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe<sup>3</sup> (afterwards Lord Metcalfe).

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* (London, 1812\*) is based partly on this work. Amar Nāt'h calls it the *Sing'h-nāmah* (? *Sik'h-nāmah*) and says that "Mālkam Ṣāhib Bahādur ān kitāb rā ba-nām i *khawud bastah manqūsh i alwāh numūdah ba-sawād i Hind firistādand*".

<sup>2</sup> *Zafar-nāmah* p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Prinsep's statement in the preface to his work mentioned above : "A Persian account of the affairs of the Sikhs in the Punjab was obligingly communicated to the compiler by Sir Charles Metcalfe. The manuscript had been delivered to Sir Charles by its author, Khooshwuqt Raee, who was for many years the Agent . . ."



(*Aḥwāl i firqah i Sik'hān*),<sup>1</sup> a history of the Sik'hs from their origin to A.D. 1811, the date of composition<sup>2</sup>: **Rieu i 294b** (A.D. 1835), **I.O.** 3897 (early 19th cent.).

848. **Dayā-Rām** Pandit, originally resident in Kashmīr, migrated with his father to Delhi and thence after a time to Lahore. In 1228/1813 when Dīwān Gangā-Rām marched against the fortress of Pūnchh Dayā-Rām accompanied him and it was there that he wrote his *Shīr u shakkar*. A Persian *dīwān* of his is preserved in the Panjāb University Library.

*Shīr u shakkar*, a history of Ranjīt Sing'h to A.H. 1228/1813: **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 57).

849. Lālah **Mōhan** was in the service of Ranjīt Sing'h, who in the year v.s. 1881/1824-5 ordered him to go to Multān and bring Mīr Ghulām-'Alī to court.

*Rūz-nāmchah i Ranjīt Sing'h*, a history of Ranjīt Sing'h to the year v.s. 1886/1829-30: **Bānkipūr** Suppt. ii 2020 (19th cent.).

850. Dīwān **Amar Nāt'h** "Akbarī" was the son of Dīwān Dīnā Nāt'h, Ranjīt Sing'h's Finance Minister. His grandfather, Bakht-Mal, has already been mentioned (pp. 666-7 *supra*) as the author of two historical works. Amar Nāt'h was born in Vikramī Sambat 1879/1822-3 (*Zafar-nāmah* p. 155<sup>16-19</sup>). In v.s. 1885/1828-9, at the age of six, he went to a *maktab* where he was taught by Maulawī Aḥmad-Bakḥsh "Yak-dil" Chishtī Lāhaurī<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No formal title is given to the work by its author either in his preface or at the end, but he describes it in his preface as a *gudhārish i aḥwāl i bid'at i firqah i Sik'hān u paighambarān i īshān ba-tarīq i intikhāb u mujmal* (so in the I.O. MS., where *bid'at i* seems to be an addition not found in the B.M. MS.).

<sup>2</sup> According to G. L. Chopra *The Panjab as a sovereign state*, Lahore 1928, pp. i, iii, the work was written in August 1834, but in the I.O. MS. the year 1811 is mentioned at least twice (in the preface and in the last sentence) as the date of composition.

<sup>3</sup> b. Lahore 1212/1795, d. 1284/1867, the author of a diary in 20 volumes which contains valuable information concerning the history of the Panjāb from 1236 to 1277 (1819 to 1860) and which is now in the possession of his grandson Maulawī Hāmid 'Alī Chishtī (see Sir Abdul Qadir's article *An unpublished diary of Sikh times* in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society* vol. vi, no. 2 (1917), pp. 82-7, Sita Ram Kohli's introduction to the *Zafar-nāmah* p. v., and his note on p. 123 of that work).



(Z.-n. pp. 185-6). At an early age he had acquired considerable skill in Persian composition. He was only in his eleventh year (dar 'ahd i yāzdah-sālagī, Z.-n. p. 213), when, in v.s. 1889/1832-3,<sup>1</sup> he wrote a series of bombastic laudations of gardens in Lahore to which he gave the title *Raudat al-azhār* and which, or part of which, he included in the last (forty-first) chapter of the *Zafar-nāmah*. In v.s. 1891/1834-5, at the age of sixteen, he wrote a *fath-nāmah* on the conquest of Peshawar which was published throughout Ranjīt Sing'h's dominions (*ba-tamām mulk i mah'rūsah sharaf i isdār yāftah*, Z.-n. p. 231<sup>9</sup>) and which is incorporated in the *Zafar-nāmah* (pp. 231-6). According to Sītā Rām Kōhlī he was one of the *Bakhshīs*, or Paymasters, of the irregular cavalry of the *Khālṣah* Government and is mentioned several times in the pay-rolls. From "family traditions and a few other indirect sources" Sītā Rām Kōhlī has learnt that Dīwān Dīnā Nāt'h had his son removed from his office in 1845 "for reasons which are rather obscure", and that he spent the rest of his life in intellectual pursuits until his death from cholera on 1 August 1867, at the age of forty-five. A collection of his Persian poems was published by his son Dīwān Rām Nāt'h in 1873 under the title of *Dīwān i Akbarī*.

(*Zafar-nāmah i Ranjīt Sing'h*), a history of Ranjīt Sing'h to the year v.s. 1892/1835-6: **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (defective at end, breaking off in the year v.s. 1884/1827-8. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (August 1926), p. 57, and Sītā Rām Kōhlī's introduction, p. xiii). This MS. and two others, one belonging to the author's family and the other to Rāy Ṣāhib Pandit Wazīr Chānd, were used in the preparation of the edition mentioned below.

Edition: *Zafarnama-i-Ranjit Singh of Diwan Amar Nath*. Edited with notes and introduction by Sita Ram Kohli. **Lahore** 1928† (Panjab University).

Description and translated extracts: *The Calcutta Review* December 1858, pp. 247-302.

<sup>1</sup> The chronogram *Bāgh i Iram* (Z.-n. p. 287) indicates the date 1244/1828-9 an unexplained discrepancy.



[*Zafar-nāmah* pp. 36<sup>14</sup>, 115<sup>16</sup>, 155<sup>16-19</sup>, 174<sup>7, 14-15</sup>, 176 ult., 177, 185<sup>19-23</sup>, 186, 195<sup>10-17</sup>, 213<sup>18-23</sup>, 214, 221 penult. (for *ta'kīd* read *ta'līf*), 231<sup>8-9</sup>, 248<sup>1</sup>; *Sitā Rām Kōhli's* introduction pp. iii-ix.]

851. It may perhaps be worth mentioning here that a beautifully illuminated manuscript at Bānkīpūr (Catalogue, vol. vii no. 622) contains the financial accounts of Ranjīt Sing'h's army.

852. **Ghulām-Muhyi 'l-Din** surnamed (*mulaqqab*) **Būṭi Shāh Lūd'hiyānī** 'Alawī Qādirī wrote his *Tārīkh i Panjāb* in 1258/1842<sup>1</sup> at the request of Captain Murray, Resident at Lūd'hiyānah, in whose office he was a *Munshī*.<sup>2</sup>

*Tārīkh i Panjāb*, in a *muqaddimah* (geographical), five *daftars* ((i) Hindu Rājahs, (ii) Muslim Sultāns to A.H. 1183/1769-70, (iii) Sik'h Gurūs, (iv) Sik'h Sardārs and Rājahs, (v) Ranjīt Sing'h), and a *khātimah* (British conquests in India): **Rieu** iii 953a (A.D. 1848. Corrected by the author), **Ethé** 503, **I.O.** 3893 (A.H. 1264/1848), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (one copy lacking part of *Daftar* ii and a second of *Daftar* v only. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 58).

853. The *Ranjīt-Sing'h-nāmah* mentioned below was written not later than 1846, since, according to **Ethé**, the MS. contains "Two entries, dated 1846, Lahore, on the last fly-leaf".

*Ranjīt-Sing'h-nāmah*, a short modern *mathnawī* in honour of Ranjīt Sing'h and his sons, giving the principal events of their lives: **Bodleian** ii 2365 (PICTURES).

854. **M. Naqī Pashāwarī** b. Mullā **Khwājah-Bakhsh** went to Lahore, the city of his forefathers, and was an eye-witness of the

<sup>1</sup> The chronogram in the preface is

*Chu justam sāl i tālīfash khīrad guft \* kih tārīkhash ham az nāmash birūn ār.*  
*Wa-lī ghair az mī'āt ai dānish-āgīn \* zi-a'dād i nukhustīn juz' ma-shmār.*

This seems to indicate 1258, not 1264, as **Rieu** supposed.

<sup>2</sup> This statement concerning Captain Murray comes from the author's colophon in the I.O. MS. 3893.



vents which followed the death of Ranjīt Sing'h. At the request of Bakhshī Bhagat-Rām he composed a record of those events.

(*Shēr-Sing'h-nāmah*),<sup>1</sup> a diffuse and stilted account of events at Lahore from 1255/1839 (death of Ranjīt Sing'h) to 1259/1843 (assassination of Shēr Singh and accession of Dalīp Sing'h after the restoration of order by Rājah Hīrā Sing'h, to whom the work is dedicated and in whose service the author probably was): *Rieu* iii 952b (19th cent. 9 pictures), *Ethé* 505 (12 PICTURES), 2991 (A.H. 1270/1853-4), *Bodleian* MS. Pers. e. 30 (n.d.).

Description and translated extracts: *Sher Singh Nama* . . . By . . . J. F. Bruce (in the *Journal of Indian history*, vol. xvii, pt. 1 (April 1938) pp. 83-93).

855. Mīr Ṭaiyib Allāh Ruhtāsī.

*Ḥawāhir-nāmah*, an epic poem on the reign of Shēr Sing'h: *Ethé* ii 3041 (autograph?).

856. Lālah Sōhan La'ī Sūrī, son of Lālah Ganpat Rāy, son of Lālah Ḥukūmat Rāy, was *Wakīl*<sup>2</sup> at the court of Ranjīt Sing'h for twenty-seven years, and he held the same position during the reigns of his successors until the deposition of Dalīp Sing'h in 1849. Ranjīt Sing'h more than once rewarded him for his historical writings. In 1851 the Panjāb Government granted him a *jāgīr* for life with an annual value of Rs. 1000.<sup>3</sup> According to Sir R. Temple he died in 1852.

Sir Richard Temple says "His habit of noting down what passed seems to have been hereditary, for his father, Lālā Ganpat Rāī, who before him had been *wakīl* not only to Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, but also to his father and grandfather Mahan Singh and Chhart Singh, had kept similar records of all he saw for some 40 years previously. He died in very advanced life in A.D. 1828, and has left many MSS. behind him, but they

<sup>1</sup> This title does not occur in the text, but in an English note in *Ethé* 505.

<sup>2</sup> In an English notice prefixed to the fifth *daftar* in the published edition of the '*Umdat al-tawārīkh*' he is described as "official diarist to the Court of the Sikh Maharajas".

<sup>3</sup> '*Umdat al-tawārīkh*' i p. 171.



are not of any special value, as his son used them all in his great compilation ”.

(1) ‘*Umdat al-tawārīkh*, a large and important history of the Sik’hs, divided (in its final form ?) into five *daftars* and extending from the time of Nānak to the author’s own time (to 1831 in the R.A.S. MS., to 1849 in the published edition): **R.A.S.** P. 89 = Morley 87 (“*Tārīkh-i Mahārājah Ranjīt Singh*.”<sup>1</sup> Presented by Ranjīt Sing’h to Sir Claude Wade in 1831), **Ross and Browne** 137 (*Daftars* ii and iii only. A.H. 1260/1844).

Edition: **Lahore** 1885-9<sup>o</sup>\*.<sup>2</sup>

(2) ‘*Ibrat-nāmah*, a poem on the events following the assassination of Shēr Sing’h until the accession of Dalīp Sing’h.

Edition: **Lahore** [1885\*. Supplied *gratis* to purchasers of the ‘*Umdat al-tawārīkh*].

[Autobiographical statements in the ‘*Umdat al-tawārīkh* (which has not been examined for biographical purposes); a note by Sir R. C. Temple printed on the inside of the cover of vol. i of the Lahore edition.]

857. **Ganēsh Dās**, called (‘urf) Bad’hrah,<sup>3</sup> was *Qānūngō* of the *chaklah* of Gujrāt in the Panjāb, when Mahārājah Gulāb Sing’h took him to Jamūn and appointed him to the *daftar* of that province (probably not long before 1847, when the *Rāj-darshanī* was completed). On a sheet of paper attached to fol. 1a of Ethé ii 3020 (*Chār bāgh i Panjāb*) just before this MS. was sent to the Paris Exhibition of 1855 by the Panjāb Committee at Lahore he is described as “an Official in the service of the British [Indian] Government”.

<sup>1</sup> According to G. L. Chopra *The Panjab as a sovereign state*, Lahore 1928, pp. i, ii, “the author called it *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh* (f. 199), the title which he applied to his enlarged work, written subsequently, and published by his son in 1884. . . . Both the language and the facts differ, though only to a slight extent, from the author’s published work, called *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*.”

<sup>2</sup> The B.M. catalogue describes the work as “including the diary of Maharaja Ranjīt Singh”, but that is misleading, since the “diary” (*rūz-nāmchah*) is Sōhan La’l’s account of Ranjīt Sing’h’s doings.

<sup>3</sup> This surname (vocalisation uncertain ?) came to Ganēsh Dās by inheritance from an ancestor, Kākā Mal Bad’hrah, a descendant of the Rājahs of Ajmēr, who was Governor of Siyālkōt and Bahlōlpūr circ. A.H. 894/1489 (see Rieu iii 955).



(1) *Chirāgh i Panjāb* (a chronogram = 1262), a history of the Panjāb from the earliest times to A.H. 1262/1846 written in a very short time at Lahore and presented to the Nāẓim of the Panjāb<sup>1</sup>: Rieu iii 952b (A.D. 1851),<sup>2</sup> Ethé ii 3019 (A.H. 1270/1854).

(2) *Chār bāgh i Panjāb* (a chronogram = 1265/1849), or *Risālah i Šāhib-numā*, a greatly expanded recension of the preceding work extending to A.D. 1849 (Lord Dalhousie): Ethé ii 3020 (A.D. 1854).<sup>3</sup>

858. Munshī 'Abd-al-Karīm 'Alawī has already been mentioned (pp. 402-4 *supra*) as the author of the *Muḥārabah i Kābul u Qandahār* and of the *Tārīkh i Aḥmad*.

*Tārīkh i Panjāb tuḥfat<sup>an</sup> 4 li-l-aḥbāb*, an account of the British conquest of the Panjāb in the First (1845-6) and Second (1848-9) Sik'h Wars.<sup>5</sup>

Edition: Muḥammadī Press (Hājji M. Ḥusain), [Lucknow?] 1265/1849\*.

859. Muftī 'Alī al-Dīn b. Muftī Khair al-Dīn Lāhaurī left his native place Lahore in 1239/1823 on account of the oppression of the Sik'hs and settled at Ludhiana. He was serving under Charles Raikes,<sup>6</sup> Commissioner of Lahore, in 1854, when he compiled his *Ibrat-nāmah*.

*Ibrat-nāmah u 'Umdat al-tawārīkh*, a large and

<sup>1</sup> *Šāhib i Nāẓim i Panjāb*, presumably Henry Lawrence, who was appointed President of the Board of Administration in 1849.

<sup>2</sup> Rieu gives the title of this MS. as *Risālah i Šāhib-numā*, but is reproved by Ethé for doing so on the ground that that title properly belongs to the *Chār bāgh i Panjāb*.

<sup>3</sup> In the preface to this copy the dedicatee is Mr. Richard Temple, the words *Šāhib i Nāẓim i Panjāb* not being used.

<sup>4</sup> So in the preface to the lithographed edition, which has *Tārīkh i Panjāb tuḥfah [i] aḥbāb* on the title-page.

<sup>5</sup> It does not appear that 'Abd al-Karīm was an eye-witness of events in these wars or even resident in the Panjāb. His account is derived mainly from English and Urdu newspapers but partly from oral information.

<sup>6</sup> See Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 347.



important<sup>1</sup> work on the geography, statistics and history of the Panjāb, especially the Sik'hs, to A.D. 1849 : **Ethé 504** (A.H. 1270/1854. Autograph).

860. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq "**Ḥādhiq**", who mentions his name on p. 11<sup>11</sup> and his *takhalluṣ* on p. 113 of the *Ḥālāt i jang i Malkah u Sit'hānah*, tells us on p. 12 that Hindūstān was his home but that, owing apparently to the successive encroachments of the British, he had migrated first to Sind and then to the mountainous [frontier] region where he wrote his poem.

(*Ḥālāt i jang i Malkah u Sit'hānah*), a versified account of hostilities between the fanatical Hindūstānī emigrants settled at Sit'hānah and Malkah<sup>2</sup> and the British-Indian army from Sir Sydney Cotton's expedition in 1858 to the "Umbeyla [Anbēlah] campaign" of 1863.

Edition : **Paṭnah** 1901<sup>o\*</sup>.

861. Rāy Bahādur **Kanhaiyā Lāl "Hindī"** was Executive Engineer at Lahore, to which he had migrated early in life from Jalēsar, his birthplace in the Āgrah District.

Among his Persian works were (1) *Bandagī-nāmah*, religious poems, Lahore 1870\*, 1295/1878\*, Cawnpore 1873<sup>o\*</sup>,<sup>3</sup> (2) *Gulzār i "Hindī"* (English title : *Poetical Essays, in Persian, on Moral Subjects, entitled Goolzar-i-Hindee*), Lahore 1283/1867<sup>o\*</sup>, 1286/1869\*, 1870<sup>o</sup>, 1873<sup>o\*</sup>, (3) *Yādgār i "Hindī"* (English title : *Poems in Persian entitled Yadgar-i-Hindee, containing a brief account of the great Prophets, Kings, Rulers, and Philosophers of the world*), Lahore 1290/1873<sup>o\*</sup>.

For his Urdu works, much more numerous than his Persian, see Garcin de Tassy, ii pp. 159–61, and Blumhardt's catalogues of Hindustani printed books in the British Museum (under

<sup>1</sup> See G. L. Chopra *The Punjab as a sovereign state*, Lahore 1928, pp. ii–iii.

<sup>2</sup> Two villages situated respectively at the foot and on the north side of Mt. Mahāban. See Sir Sydney Cotton's *Nine years on the North-West Frontier of India, from 1854 to 1863* (London 1868), Col. J. Adye's *Sitana : a mountain campaign on the borders of Afghanistan in 1863* (London 1867), and other works.

<sup>3</sup> This Cawnpore edition is included, presumably by mistake, in the I.O. catalogue of Hindustani books.



Kanhaiyā Lāl, called Alakhadhārī) and the India Office Library (under Kanhaiyā Lāl, *Executive Engineer*, Kanhaiyā Lāl, *Pandit*, Kanhaiyā Lāl (Alakhadhārī) and Kanhaiyā Lāl (Hindī)). One or two of these works are probably not by Kanhaiyā Lāl "Hindī".

*Ranjīt-nāmah*, or *Zafar-nāmah i Ranjīt Sing'h*, a *mathnawī* on the history of Ranjīt Sing'h written, or begun, in 1874.

Edition : *Zafar-nāmah i Ranjīt Sing'h al-ma'rūf Ranjīt-nāmah*, Lahore 1876°\*.

[*Ranjīt-nāmah* pp. 28-32, 603 ; Garcin de Tassy ii pp. 159-61.]

862. M. Aḥsan Allāh Khān "Thāqib" wrote

*Ātash i bī-dūd*, a history of the British conquest of the Panjāb.

Edition : *Āgrah* 1297/1880°.

863. Dūnī-chand Bālī wrote when Dilāwar Khān was head of the Gak'har tribe<sup>1</sup> (i.e. 1117/1705-6—1139/1726-7)

*Kai-Gauhar-nāmah*, composed A.H. 1137/1724-5, a history of the Gak'hars (G'hak'hars or Gāk'hars), a Muḥammadan and mainly Shī'ite tribe, who (or some of whom) believe themselves to be descended from Kai-Gauhar, a Kayānian prince, and who live now in N.W. India (Rāwal Pindī, Aṭak, Jihlam and Hazārah Districts and in Jammū), from their origin to the date of composition with special reference to their saints : Rieu iii 1012b (circ. A.D. 1850), Ivanow 188 (mid 19th cent.),<sup>2</sup> Ethé ii 3021 ("Ghakkar-nāmah").

864. Raḥīm 'Alī Khān son of Ḥafīẓ al-Dīn Khān known as نوکبال, a Kayānī Gak'har resident in the village of Dōmeliyān (Parganah Rohtās), wrote in 1256/1840-1 his

<sup>1</sup> On the Gakhars see *Ency. Isl.* ii 128b-129a, Delmerick *History of the Gakkhars* (in *J.A.S.B.* xl, pt. 1 (1871) pp. 67-101), Griffin *Panjab Chiefs* pp. 574-581.

<sup>2</sup> The opening words given by Rieu and Ivanow do not agree.



*Rahīm-nāmah*, a history of the fortress of Rohtās and of the tribe of the Gak'hars : **Rieu** iii 954b (circ. A.D. 1850).

865. **Ganēsh Dās**, the author of the *Risālah i Sāhib-numā* (see p. 673 *supra*) and the *Rāj-darshanī* (see p. 687), sent to Sir H. M. Elliot

*A notice of Rājah Jaipāl and the Gak'har tribe* : **Rieu** iii 1037a vii foll. 41-3 (circ. A.D. 1850).

866. *Tadhkirah i Gak'harān*, an account of the chiefs of the Gak'hars : **Rieu** iii 1054b foll. 180-5 (extracts only).

867. **Mahtāb Sing'h**, a Kāyast'ha, was a native of Mirlipūr, a village in the Bhōgnipūr-Mūsānagar parganah of the Cawnpore District. Having gone to Lahore in search of employment he entered the service of Prince K'harak Sing'h, Ranjīt Sing'h's eldest son. For five years he worked in the secretariat (*daftar*) of the parganah of Sāhiwāl i Balōchān. In the Vikramī year 1881 (A.D. 1824-5) he was put in charge of the secretariat (*daftar*) of Hazārah.

*Tawārīkh i mulk i Hazārah* or *Tārīkh i Hazārah*, a history of Hazārah and the neighbouring districts especially in the thirty years v.s. 1876/A.D. 1819-v.s. 1906/A.D. 1849 : **Ethé** 506 (A.D. 1854), **Ivanow** 187 (not later than A.D. 1852).

868. **Nūr Muḥammad**, commonly called **Chēlā**, of the Sayāl tribe, was a highly respected landowner in the Jhang district and an Arabic and Persian scholar. He died in January 1862.

*Tārīkh i Jhang Sayāl*, written for Major G. W. Hamilton and completed in Sept. 1862 by the author's son, a history of the Jhang District (between Lahore and Multān) and of its chief inhabitants the Sayāls, a Rājput clan who migrated in the 13th century from Jaunpūr to the Panjāb, where their chief Rāy Sayāl became a convert to Islām : **Rieu** i 295a (A.D. 1862), 295b (same hand).

Editions : (1) *The history of Jhung Siyal. By Noor Mahomed Chela of Wasoo Ustana* [with an English preface by Col. G. W. Hamilton]. **Meerut** 1863°, (2) *Tārīkh i Jhang Sayāl*, **Mag'hiānah**



[1912\*] (reprinted from the 1863 edition with omission of the English translation).

[*Tārīkh i Jhang Sayāl*, *khātimah*; Hamilton's preface to the Meerut edition.]

869. Miscellaneous works relating to the Panjāb :

(1) Account of the origin of some towns in the Panjāb : **Rieu** iii 954a (A.D. 1848).

(2) Account of the *Sardārs* of Ballabgarh (Farīdābād) from the death of Sūraj-Mal Jāt to the departure of Mr. Metcalfe, a *musawwadah* by Munshī Khalīl Allāh Khān : **Rieu** iii 1038b (circ. A.D. 1850).

(3) Account of Ballabgarh, a *musawwadah* by Munshī Khalīl Allāh Khān : **Rieu** iii 1041a (perhaps identical with no. (2). Circ. A.D. 1850).

(4) *Aḥwāl i Bābā Nānak* : **Rehatsek** p. 72 no. 9 (2).

(5) Brief history and topography of Ḥiṣār Fīrōzah, a *musawwadah* by Munshī Khalīl Allāh Khān : **Rieu** 1038b (circ. A.D. 1850), 1041a (perhaps different. Circ. A.D. 1850).

(6) *Ḥaqīqat i binā u 'urūj i firqah i Sik'hān*, a short history of the Sik'hs (circ. 20 foll.) from the time of Nānak to Tīmūr Shāh Abdālī's conquest of Multān : **R.A.S.** P. 69 (7) = Morley 83, P. 69 (8) = Morley 84.

(7) *Kaifīyat i Sirmūr*, a short account (15 foll.) of the Rājahs of Sirmūr : **Rieu** iii 957b (19th cent.).

(8) Legendary history of Parasrūr and Siyālkōṭ, by M. Muqīm b. Sh. Raḥmat Allāh : **Rieu** iii 954a (18th cent.).

(9) Notice of Rājah Jagat Sing'h, son of Rājah Basū and *zamīndār* of Mau and Pat'hān, Panjāb, relating chiefly to the expedition sent against him under the command of Khān i Jahān S. Muẓaffar Khān in the 15th year of Shāh-Jahān's reign : **Rieu** ii 837b (A.D. 1690).

(10) Personal statement addressed by the Rājah of Rēwārī to the Indian government with the object of proving his loyalty during the Mutiny : **Rieu** Suppt. 134 (circ. A.D. 1860).

(11) Reports of the *waqā'i'-nawīsān* of Dērah Ismā'il Khān



and Peshawar for the years v.s. 1896/1839, 1898/1841 and 1902/1845: **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 58).

(12) *Tadhkirat al-umarā'*, historical notices of some princely families of Rājputānah and the Panjāb, completed in 1830 by Lt.-Col. J. Skinner: see p. 688 *infra*.

(13) *Tawārīkh i Rājagān i Hindūr*, a short history of the state of Hindūr or Nālāgarh in the Simla district followed by a number of *farmāns* and *sanads* received by the Rājahs from the time of Humāyūn to A.D. 1862: **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 60).

(14) *Tuhfah i Akbarī*, a concise history of the Nizāms of Haidarābād, of the Tīmūrids from Aḥmad Shāh to Shāh-Ālam, and of the Panjāb from the rise of the Sik'hs written apparently in 1219/1804-5 by Khwājah 'Abd al-Ḥakīm (cf. p. 664 *supra*, n. 1): see p. 753 *infra*.

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (j) KASHMĪR

"In Mughal times and later, a host of Muslim and Hindu historians writing in the official Persian language recorded the events that occurred in their own life-time, as well as the traditions which they heard from living witnesses. None of them, however, reached the standard of Kalhana. What little they tell of the Hindu period they borrowed from him, and borrowed in a most perfunctory manner. The most important among these later historians are Haidar Malik of Tsodur, a contemporary of the emperor Jahangir; Narayan Kaul, who compiled his history in A.D. 1721; Hasan, who wrote in the last quarter of the eighteenth century; and Birbal Katsur,<sup>1</sup> who is still more recent" (Ram Chandra Kak *Ancient monuments of Kashmir*, p. 15).

870. **Kalhana** was the son of a certain Canpaka probably to be identified with one of the chief officials of King Harṣa

<sup>1</sup> Spelt Katsar on p. 172 of R. C. Kak's work.



(A.D. 1089–1101). The family probably belonged to the town of Parihāsapura. It was in the year 4224 of the Laukika era (A.D. 1148–9) that he wrote the introduction to his *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* and he completed the work in the following year. [For the scanty facts concerning the author which may be derived from his work see Stein's translation pp. 6–21.]

*Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*, a metrical Sanskrit history of Kashmīr in eight cantos.

Sanskrit text<sup>1</sup>: (1) *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmīr. Edited by M. A. Stein. Bombay 1892°\**. (2) *The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa. Edited by Durgāprasāda, son of Vrajalāla (and (vols. 2–3) P. Peterson). Bombay 1892–6°\** (*Bombay Sanskrit Series*, nos. 45, 51 and 54).

English translation: *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. . . . Translated . . . by M. A. Stein. 2 vols. Westminster 1900°\**.

Persian translation (perhaps that made for Akbar by Mullā Shāh-Muḥammad Shāhābādī and rewritten in an abridged form by 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī in 999/1590–1<sup>2</sup>): **Ethé** 508 (incomplete), **Rieu** i 296a (portions only. 18th cent.), **Ivanow** 1698 (late 18th cent.).

871. For the *Tārīkh i Rashīdī* of Mirzā Ḥaidar Dughlāt see pp. 273–6 *supra*.

872. An anonymous author, apparently a dependant of Saiyid Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'ālī,<sup>3</sup> whose exploits he records at some length, completed the *Bahāristān i Shāhī* in 1023/1614.

*Bahāristān i Shāhī*, a history of Kashmīr, especially of the Muḥammadan period, to A.H. 1023/1614, events from A.H. 986/1578–9 being treated very fully: **Rieu** i 297a (defective. 18th cent.), 297b (defective at both ends. 17th cent.), iii 955b (Or.

<sup>1</sup> For further bibliographical information see the British Museum Sanskrit catalogues.

<sup>2</sup> A translation by Maulānā 'Imād al-Dīn is mentioned among the sources of Sujān Rāy's *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* (see **Rieu** i 230).

<sup>3</sup> S. Shāh Abū 'l-Ma'ālī was prominent in the disturbances preceding Akbar's conquest of Kashmīr, and subsequently after serving under Rājah Mān Sing'h for twenty-four years he received from Jahāngīr a *manṣab* and a *jāgīr* in Tattah



1799) foll. 78b-254a (the Muḥammadan period. A.H. 1264/1848), **Ethé** 509 (n.d.).

873. Mullā **Husain Qārī** is mentioned by M. A'zam in the preface to his *Wāqī'āt i Kashmīr* as the author of a concise history of Kashmīr earlier than that of Haidar Malik.

*Wāqī'āt i Kashmīr*<sup>1</sup>: **Lindesiana** p. 153 no. 818 (circ. A.D. 1735-40).

This may perhaps be identical with

*Tārīkh i Kashmīr*, a history of Kashmīr to A.H. 1024/1615 written by **Hasan** (*sic* ?) b. 'Alī **Kashmīrī** at the request of Jalāl al-Dīn<sup>2</sup> Malik M. Nājī b. Malik Nuṣrat (i.e. apparently the grandfather of Haidar Malik, see § 874 *infra*): **Bodleian** 315 (defective at beginning, the first words being: *ma'dīlat-shī'ār u hukūmat i hākīmān i naṣafat-dithār*).

874. **Haidar Malik** b. Hasan Malik b. Malik M. Nājī **Chārwarah** (or **Chādwarah**),<sup>3</sup> a member of a noble Kashmīrī family having its hereditary seat at **Chārwarah**, a village near Srīnagar, was for twenty-four years in the service of the penultimate King of Kashmīr, Yūsuf Shāh **Chak** (reigned A.H. 986/1578-9—993/1585), whom he followed in his banishment to his *jāgīr* in Bengal. As *Faujdār* of Jā'is he led a successful expedition against Rājah Balbhadra. In 1016/1607 he protected Mihr al-Nisā' (afterwards Nūr-Jahān) after the death of her husband, Shēr-afgan. Jahāngīr gave him the titles *Chaqhatāy* and *Ra'īs al-Mulk* and appointed him Governor of Kashmīr.

(*Tārīkh i Kashmīr*), begun A.H. 1027/1618 but not completed before 1030/1620-1, a history of Kashmīr from the earliest

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear from the Lindesiana catalogue whether this is the correct title or a mere description (assuming that it is not a copy of M. A'zam's work).

<sup>2</sup> The *laqab* of Haidar Malik's grandfather is given by Aumer as Kamāl al-Dīn.

<sup>3</sup> "Haidar Malik takes his epithet *Cādura*, recte *Tsādūr*, from the Kaśmīr village of that name situated in the Nāgām Pargana, some ten miles south of Srīnagar, close to the village of Vah<sup>at</sup>tor" (Stein's translation of the *Rājatarangīnī*, vol. ii, p. 374 n. 111).



imes to its conquest by Akbar, mainly an abridgment of the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* but with some additions in the later period : **Ethé** 2846 (A.H. 1046/1636), 510 (containing a second part which is divided into six *bābs* and deals with the history of contemporary dynasties in *Īrān*, *Tūrān*, etc. N.d.), **Rieu** i 298b (a fuller text, defective at beginning. 17th cent.), 297b (A.H. 1216/1802), iii 955b (Or. 1799) foll. 10b-78b (Hindu period. A.H. 1264/1848). **Aumer** 266 (lacunæ. A.H. 1131-1718-19). **Bloch** i 625 (late 18th cent.), 626 (an abridgment, perhaps = **Aumer** 267, see § 875 *infra*), **Browne** Suppt. 245 (A.H. 1197-1783. King's 81), **Bodleian** 316 (n.d.), 317, **Eton** 200.

[Autobiography in the *Tārīkh i Kashmīr*, *Khātimah*. Qism i ; *Jahāngīr-nāmah* pp. 304<sup>15</sup>, 347<sup>28</sup> = Rogers and Beveridge ii pp. 154, 238 ; *Iqbāl-nāmah i Jahāngīrī* p. 159<sup>3</sup> ; **Rieu** i 297b-298a.]

875. By order of Jahāngīr was written

*An anonymous history of Kashmīr* (beginning *al-Ḥanūlu li-llāhi Rabbi 'l-ālamīn . . . wa-ba'd ba-ḥukm i amr i dīl-padhīr i Shāhanshāh Jahāngīr shurū dar taḥrīr i intikhāb i Tārīkh i Kashmīr mī-rawad*), agreeing closely in the earlier part with Ḥaidar Malik's history and ending with Akbar's conquest : **Aumer** 267, **Bloch** i 626 (?) (described as an abridged redaction of Ḥaidar Malik's history, without preface or author's name. Early 18th cent.).

876. In 1094/1683 "Sa'ādat" composed

*Sulaimān-Bāgh*, a metrical history of Kashmīr : **Āṣafīyah** i p. 228 no. 205 (A.H. 1278-1861-2).

877. In the fourth year of Shāh-Ālam. A.H. 1122-1710-11. Ārif Khān, Nā'ib and Dīwān of the *Ṣubah* of Kashmīr, wished to become acquainted with the contents of the Sanskrit chronicles of Kashmīr, which he had collected. **Narāyan Kaul** "Ājiz" accordingly compared Ḥaidar Malik's florid and diffuse translation (see p. 680 *supra*) with the Sanskrit originals and prepared an abridgment in simple style.



(*Tārīkh i Kashmīr*), a history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to A.H. 1122/1710-11: **Rieu** i 298*b* (A.H. 1127/1715), 299*a* (A.H. 1222/1807), 299*b* (A.D. 1814), iii 957*a* (extracts only. Circ. 1850), **I.O.** D.P. 762 (*a*) (A.H. 1170/1757), **I.O.** 3992 (A.D. 1903), **Ethé** 511 (A.H. 1215/1800), 512 (A.H. 1217/1802), 2847 (A.H. 1263/1847), **Lindesiana** p. 201 no. 820 (A.H. 1198/1783-4), **Bloch** i 627 (late 18th cent.), 628 (with a continuation to 1847. A.D. 1856), 'Aligarh Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 58 no. 954 (13) (A.H. 1201/1786-7), **Bodleian** 318 (A.H. 1229/1814), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (two copies, one dated A.H. 1230/1815. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 58), **Būhār** 80 (20th cent.), **Berlin** 512 (modern), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 103 (with a continuation to Sambat 1903/A.D. 1846), **Flügel** ii 970 (not later than A.D. 1835. PICTURES), **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. p. 65.

878. **Abā** [*sic*] **Rafī'** al-Dīn **Aḥmad**<sup>1</sup> "**Ghāfil**" b. 'Abd al-Ṣabūr b. **Khawājah** M. **Balkhī** Kashmīrī completed his *Nawādir al-akḥbār* at Shāhjahānābād in Ṣafar 1136/1723.

*Nawādir al-akḥbār*, a history of Kashmīr, mainly of the Muḥammadan period, to Akbar's conquest, professing to disregard the statements of unbelievers like "Kalhan Pandit": **Rieu** i 299*b* (A.D. 1820).

879. Mullā M. **Taufīq** "**Taufīq**" Kashmīrī died at the age of 89 towards the end of the twelfth century of the Hijrah. According to 'Abd al-Muqtadir the latest date found in the Būhār MS. of his *dīwān* (catalogue, no. 414) is 1188/1774.

*Aḥwāl i Kashmīr*, a *mathnawī* describing the valley of Kashmīr and the political events which led to the subjugation of the country in Akbar's reign: **Ethé** ii 3035 (A.H. 1267/1851).

[*Makhzan al-gharā'ib* no. 465 (?); *Sham' i anjuman* p. 99.]

<sup>1</sup> In M. Aslam's list of his authorities as quoted by **Ethé** (**Bodleian**, col. 172 ult.) the author of the *Nawādir al-akḥbār* is said to be M. Amīn **Balkhī**. H. H. Wilson (*Asiatic Researches* xv p. 5) and von Hügel (*Kashmir* p. 3) give his name as Rafī' al-Dīn Muhammad.



880. Khawājah M. A'zam Dīdah-mārī (?)<sup>1</sup> b. Khair al-Zamān Khān Kashmīrī Mujaddidī must have been born circ. 1101/1689-90 or 1102/1690-1. He was a pupil of Mullā 'Abd Allāh, Murād Bēg, Kāmil Bēg, Mīr Hāshim and others and, as a Sūfī, the disciple of M. Murād Naqshbandī (d. 1134/1721-2 according to M. A'zam (see Rieu i 300a) or on 17 Rajab 1131/1719 according to the *Khazīnat al-asfiyā'* i p. 659<sup>3</sup>). He died A.H. 1185/1771-2.

Works of his entitled *Faid i Murād*, on the life and sayings of his pīr, *Fawā'id al-mashāyikh*, on faqr, *Risālah i ithbāt al-jabr*, *Tajribat al-tālibīn*, *Ashjār al-khuld*, *Thamarāt al-ashjār* and *Sharh i Kibrīt i ahmar* are mentioned by Rahmān 'Alī.

(1) *Wāqī'āt i Kashmīr* (a chronogram = 1148/1735-6, the date of inception, but 1160/1747 was the date of completion), called also *Tārīkh i A'zamī* and *Tawārīkh i DWMRĪ*,<sup>2</sup> a history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to 1160/1747 devoted mainly to the lives of the holy men (also poets and scholars) who flourished in each reign and divided into a *muqaddimah*, three *qisms* and a *khātimah*: Rieu i 300 (18th cent.), 301a (18th cent.), 301a (A.D. 1820), iii 956b (18th cent.), 956b (19th cent.), 957a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), Blochet i 629 (A.H. 1205/1790), Ivanow Curzon 41 (defective. Late 18th or early 19th cent.), Ethé 513 (A.H. 1217/1802), Bodleian 319 (A.H. 1220/1805), Bānkipūr vii 601 (19th cent.), Būhār 81 (19th cent.), Āṣafiyah i p. 258 no. 290, Lahore Panjab Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), pp. 58-9), Rehatsek p. 82 no. 22, Salemann-Rosen p. 13 no. 607.

Edition: *Tārīkh i Kashmīr i A'zamī*, Lahore 1303/1886\*.

Urdu translation: *Mohammad Azeem's* [sic] *History of Kashmeer translated from the Persian into Urdoo by Moonshee Ashraf Alee of the Dehlie College . . . (Tārīkh i Kashmīr)*. [Delhi 1846°\*.]

<sup>1</sup> This *nisbah*, apparently not mentioned by M. A'zam himself in his preface, is appended to his name by M. Aslam in his list of authorities (quoted by Ethé, Bodleian cat., col. 173a, cf. Rieu iii 956b, where, however, it is transliterated Dēdah Marū, and Rieu Suppt. p. 57a, where it is written Dīdahmārī). The word is spelt DWMRĪ (with r) by Rahmān 'Alī and DWMRĪ by Ghulām Sarwar (*Khazīnat al-asfiyā'* i pp. 659<sup>4</sup>, 682<sup>9</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh i A'zamī ma'rūf ba-Tawārīkh i DWMRĪ*, as Rahmān 'Alī calls it



(2) *Lubb al-tawārīkh*, a brief history of Kashmīr from the Deluge to A.H. 1166/1753: **Ethé** ii 3022 (n.d.).

[*Khazīnat al-asfiyā* i p. 682; Rieu i 300, iii 1084b–1085a; Raḥmān ‘Alī 180.]

881. Badī‘ al-Dīn Abū ‘l-Qāsim M. **Aslam** “**Mun‘imī**” b. Maulawī M. A‘zam Kūl “**Mustaghni**” went in 1188/1774–5 with the Wazīr’s army from Lucknow to Etawah and there obtained from a descendant of the Chak kings of Kashmīr an autograph copy of the *Mir’āt al-auliya*, a Persian translation by Maulānā Aḥmad ‘Allāmah<sup>1</sup> of the Kashmīrī work entitled *Nūr-nāmah*, a collection of the utterances of the saint, Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn Walī, written down by one of his disciples.

*Gauhar*<sup>2</sup> i ‘*ālam tuḥfat*<sup>an 3</sup> *li-l-Shāh*<sup>4</sup> (or *li-l-Shāh-‘Ālam*),<sup>5</sup> or *Gauhar-nāmah i ālam*,<sup>6</sup> written circ. A.H. 1190/1776–1200/1786 and dedicated to Shāh-‘Ālam II (reigned A.D. 1759–86), a history of Kashmīr based mainly on the *Wāqī‘āt i Kashmīr* of Khawājah M. A‘zam (possibly the author’s father), which is reproduced with few alterations, and the *Nūr-nāmah* (see above), and divided into a *muqaddimah* (geographical), six *tabaqahs* ((1) the origins, Dā‘ūdī Kings and Pāndavas, (2) Hindu Rājahs, (3) Shāh-Mīrī dynasty, (4) the Chaks, (5) the Mughals, (6) the Afghāns, Aḥmad Shāh’s conquest, etc. No recorded copy seems to go further than A.H. 1150/1737 in the fifth *tabaqah*) and a (non-extant) *khātimah* (on peculiarities and marvels): **Bodleian** 320 (late 18th cent.), **Ivanow** 189 (18th–19th cent.), **I.O.** 3931 (extracts copied from the preceding MS.), **Rieu** Suppt. 85 (19th cent.), iii 956b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

882. ‘**Abd al-Qādir Khān**, commonly called (‘urf) **Ghulām-Qādir Khān**, b. Wāṣil ‘Alī Khān Jā’isī has already been mentioned (pp. 622–4 *supra*) as the author of the *Tārīkh i ‘Imād al-Mulk*.

<sup>1</sup> Described as a contemporary of Sulṭān Zain al-‘Ābidīn (reigned A.D. 1423–1474).

<sup>2</sup> This is presumably an allusion to Shāh-‘Ālam’s name ‘Ālī-Gauhar.

<sup>3</sup> So Ivanow 189. Cf. the title of ‘Abd al-Karīm’s history of the Panjāb (p. 673 *supra*).

<sup>4</sup> So Bodleian 320, Ivanow 189, Rieu Suppt. 85.

<sup>5</sup> So Rieu iii 956b.

<sup>6</sup> So in the dedicatory verses.



*Hashmat i Kashmīr*, completed at Benares in 1245/1830 and dedicated to the British Agent Hashmat al-Daulah William Augustus Brooke, a history of Kashmīr based mainly on Aslam's history (see p. 684 *supra*) and followed by short accounts of Tibet and Qalmāqistān, Badakhshān, and the Afghān hill tracts of Paglē, Ghōr, Ghaznīn and Kōh i Sulaimān : **Rieu** Suppt. 86 (A.H. 1247/1831), iii 1016a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Ivanow** Curzon 42 (A.H. 1286/1869), **Philadelphia** Lewis Coll. p. 67.

Edition : [Calcutta,] 1832\*.

883. Paṇḍit **Birbal** known (*ma'rūf*) as **Kāchar**<sup>1</sup> composed in 1251/1835 his

*Majma' al-tawārīkh*,<sup>2</sup> a history of Kashmīr to the author's own time : **Bodleian** 1973, **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. iii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 59).

884. Of unknown authorship is the

*Lubb al-tawārīkh*, a history of Kashmīr to A.H. 1262/1846 with a second volume on its geography, administration, revenue, produce etc. : **Rieu** iii 957a (A.H. 1263/1847), apparently also **Browne** Pers. Cat. 103, foll. 121-232 (vol. i only, defective at beginning, the first date being A.H. 995/1587).

885. At the desire of some English officials **Mirzā Saif al-Dīn**, who was "record writer in Kashmīr", compiled a short history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to A.H. 1277/1860-1. In the following year he died, and some time afterwards his brother and successor **Mirzā Muhyī 'l-Dīn** at the request of General Courtland, then recently appointed British Agent in Kashmīr, added a few subsequent events.

*Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh i Kashmīr*, completed 22 October 1861 : **Edinburgh** 234 (A.H. 1278/1861).

<sup>1</sup> In Ram Chandra Kak's *Ancient monuments of Kashmīr* this word is spelt Katsur on p. 15, and Katsar on p. 172, one of the two spellings being doubtless a misprint.

<sup>2</sup> This title is given in the *Oriental College Magazine*. No Persian title is mentioned in the Bodleian catalogue.



886. Dīwān **Kirpā-Rām** belonged to a well-known family of Eminābād in the Gūjrānwālā District of the Panjāb, who "have from the commencement of Maharaja Gulab Singh's reign practically monopolized the office of Diwan or Prime Minister, and are therefore responsible for much of the good or evil repute attaching to the rule of the Dogras in Kashmir". He succeeded his father, Jwālā Sahāy, as Dīwān in 1865 and held the office until his death in 1876. "He was slightly less conservative than his father, and was zealous in encouraging education, establishing hospitals, opening up thoroughfares, introducing silk and other industries, and improving the system of revenue collection. But his death at the early age of 44 prevented his undertakings from being brought to a satisfactory finish."

In addition to the two works mentioned below he wrote a pamphlet (26 pp.) entitled *Madīnat al-taḥqīq* in defence of certain Hindu practices criticised by Muslims. (Edition : Siyālkōṭ 1877<sup>o\*</sup>.)

According to *The Friend of India* (a Calcutta newspaper) for 12.9.1867 (p. 1093) he at that time "presided over" a weekly paper, the *Bidyā Bilās*, published by a literary society of which the Mahārājah was patron.

(1) *Gulzār i Kashmīr*, a concise history of Kashmīr with chapters on its topography, products, trades etc., written in 1864.

Edition : **Lahore** 1870-1<sup>o\*</sup> (1870 on the cover, 1870 and 1871 in the *tārīkhs* at the end).

(2) *Gulāb-nāmah*, a life of Mahā-rājah Gulāb Sing'h, completed in 1922 Vikramī/1865.

Editions : **Srinagar** v.s. 1932-3/1876\*, **Jammū** [1919\*<sup>1</sup>].

[Griffin and Massy *Chiefs and families of note in the Punjab*, Revised ed., Lahore 1909-11, vol. ii pp. 131-2. (In S. Newazish

<sup>1</sup> This date does not occur in the edition, which retains on the title-page the date v.s. 1932 and on pp. 10-12 the chronograms (v.s. 1933, A.D. 1876) of the previous edition.



Ali's Urdu translation, *Tazkira-i-Rausa-i-Punjab* [sic], there is a portrait of Kirpā-Rām facing p. 209 in vol. ii.)]

887. Miscellaneous works relating to Kashmīr :

(1) Account of Kashmīr : Lindesiana p. 170 no. 444 (A.D. 1845).

(2) Chronicles of Kashmīr : Lindesiana p. 170 no. 158 (circ. A.D. 1750).

(3) Description of Kashmīr, "to end of last century" : Lindesiana p. 170 no. 781 (circ. A.D. 1840).

(4) Epic poem (modern) describing the history of Baltī or Baltistān, a small state in the north of Kashmīr : Bodleian 1995 (defective at both ends).

(5) A history of Kashmīr beginning *Hamd i ān mubdi'i kih 'ālam i jūd* and consisting of accounts of the Hindu period and the Muḥammadan period extracted respectively from Ḥaidar Malik and the *Bahāristān i Shāhī*, an introduction on such matters as the mythical lake which once filled the vale of Kashmīr and its draining by demons at Solomon's command, and an appendix on some remarkable localities in Kashmīr : Rieu iii 955b (A.H. 1264/1848).

(6) *Mukhtaṣar tārikh i Kashmīr* (48 pp.), by Muftī 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad : Lahore 1884†.

(7) *Tārikh i Kashmīr* : Lindesiana p. 225 no. 158 (circ. A.D. 1750).

(8) *Tārikh i Kashmīr (Shujā' i Ḥaidarī)*, by M. Ḥaidar : Āṣafiyah iii p. 96 no. 1384 (A.D. 1840).

M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (k) JAMMŪ

888. Ganēsh Dās, called ('urf) Bad'hrah, has already been mentioned (pp. 672-3 *supra*) as the author of histories of the Panjāb entitled *Chirāgh i Panjāb* and *Chār bāgh i Panjāb*.

*Rāj-darshanī*, a history of the Rājahs of Jammūn from the earliest times to A.D. 1847 : Rieu iii 955a (circ. A.D. 1848), Ethé 507 (defective).



## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (l) HUNZA

889. **M. Ridā Bēg** began in 1339/1920

*A history of Hunza* : Bodleian MS. Pers. d. 62 (author's brouillon, incomplete).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (m) RĀJPŪTĀNAH

890. Lieut.-Colonel **James Skinner**, the son of Lieut.-Colonel Hercules Skinner and a Rājput lady, was born in 1778. From 1796 to 1803 he served in the Marāṭ'hā army of the Mahārājah Sindia of Gwalior, first under de Boigne and afterwards under Perron. Having resigned on the outbreak of the First Marāṭ'hā War, he served with distinction under Lord Lake and raised the regiment of irregulars known as Skinner's Horse. In 1827 he was given the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and the title of C.B. He died at Hānsī on 4 Dec. 1841 and on 17 Jan. 1842 he was buried in the church built by himself at Delhi.

In 1925 he completed at Hānsī and dedicated to Gen. Sir J. Malcolm his *Tashrīḥ al-aqwām*, an account of Indian tribes and castes (see Rieu i 65a).

*Tadhkirat al-umarā'*, completed in 1830 and dedicated to Sir J. Malcolm, historical notices of some princely families of Rājputānah and the Panjāb : **Rieu** i 302a (A.D. 1830. With portraits of the contemporary princes), 303b (A.D. 1830. Without the portraits), iii 958a (circ. A.D. 1850).

[J. Baillie Fraser *Military memoir of Lieut.-Col. James Skinner*, London 1851 ; Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 392 ; etc.]

891. Munshī **D'hōnkāl Sing'h** was in the service of Ranjīt Sing'h, the Jāt Rājah of Bharatpūr (A.H. 1776–1806),<sup>1</sup> and was employed by him in his negotiations with Lord Lake.

(*Waqā'i' i tasalluṭ i Ṣāhibān i Angrēz Bahādur dar nulk i Miyān i Dō-āb*) or (*Tasalluṭ i Ṣāhibān i Angrēz*) or

<sup>1</sup> For further information see Mill *History of India* vi pp. 597–612 ; Creighton *Siege of Bhurtpore* p. x.



(*Waqā'i' i D'hōnkāl Sing'h*) or (*Jang-nāmah i Bharatpūr*),<sup>1</sup> completed A.H. 1221/1806-7, a prolix and turgid history of the Marāṭ'hā war in Northern India and especially of Ranjīt Sing'h's part in it from 1803 (rise of Perron and Lake's march against him) to 1805 (fall of Bharatpūr and Lake's treaty with Ranjīt Sing'h): **Rieu** i 305a (A.H. 1234/1819), 305b (A.H. 1250/1834).

892. For Ṣafdar 'Alī Shāh "Munsif's" continuation of his *Jirjīs i razm* containing a metrical account of the Bharatpūr campaign of 1804-5 see the section History : India : Marāṭhās.

893. Maulawī M. Faḍl i 'Azīm "Azīm" has already been mentioned (p. 646 *supra*) as the author of a history of the Nepalese War entitled *Waqā'i' i Kūhistān*. He accompanied William Fraser as secretary during the operations against Bharatpūr.

(*Afsānah i Bhartpūr*<sup>2</sup>), a *mathnawī* (beginning *Ba-nām i khudāwand i khallāq i jān*) on the operations against Rājah Durjan Sāl of Bharatpūr in 1825-6, written in 1241/1826 : I.O. D.P. 1276 (19th cent.), probably also **Lindesiana** p. 193 no. 344 ("Waqā'i' jang-i Bharatpūr" (in verse or prose ?). A.H. 1241/1825-6), no. 459 (circ. A.D. 1840-50).

Apparently different from this and beginning differently (*Kunam yād i ān dāwar i dāwarān*) is the

*Tārīkh i Bharatpūr*, or *Zafar-namah*, "a poetical account of the siege of Bharatpūr by Lord Lake"<sup>3</sup> . . . ascribed to Maulavī Fazl 'Azīm, and said to be founded on a prose narrative by a Brahman called Shambū, or Shambhū" : Sprenger 520 (A.S.B.), **Ivanow** 886 (calligraphic), **Rieu** iii 1054a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1056a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

894. Ānand Rāy is the author of a

<sup>1</sup> See **Rieu** iii 958a.

<sup>2</sup> No formal title is given to the poem by the author, but he twice speaks of it as the *afsānah i Bhartpūr* (fol. 5a, l. 2 : *Bi-kun naẓm afsānah i Bhartpūr* \* *jafā-kārī i Durjan i pur-ghurūr*; fol. 5a, l. 4 : *Zi-farmūdan i hātīf-am shud darūr* \* *kih bi-nwīsam afsānah i Bhartpūr*).

<sup>3</sup> This was an earlier siege (in 1805). The operations in 1825-6 were commanded by Lord Combermere.



*Tārīkh i Bharatpūr*, an account of Lord Combermere's siege of Bharatpūr in 1826 preceded by a short history of the Jāt Rājahs : **Bānkipūr** vii 602 (A.H. 1247/1831-2), **I.O.** 3937 (apparently transcribed from the preceding. A.D. 1892).

895. **Francis Gottlieb** describes himself as a German born in Poland and educated in India. He is apparently identical with the Urdu and Persian poet "Farāsū" (for whom see p. 647 *supra*). It was for Major Abraham Lockett that he wrote his history of the Jāt rājahs of Bharatpūr.

*History of the Jāt Rājahs of Bharatpūr* from their origin to A.D. 1826 : **Rieu** i 305b (19th cent.).

896. Of unknown authorship is

*A history of Bharatpūr from A.D. 1805 to A.D. 1827* (accession of Balwant Sing'h) written in continuation of D'hōnkal Sing'h's history (for which see p. 688 *supra*) : **Rieu** iii 958a (19th cent.).

897. Major James Browne (for whom see p. 665 *supra*) obtained from Jaipūr in 1198/1783-4 a Hindī history of the Kachhwāhah Rājahs. This was translated into Persian by the Major's *munshī* Jān i 'Ālam Shīrīn-raḡam, who completed his task at Āgrah in Shawwāl 1198/Aug.-Sept. 1784.

*Bansāwalī*<sup>1</sup> i *buzurgān i Mahārājah D'hīrāj*<sup>2</sup> *Sawā'i Pratāp Sing'h Bahādur*, a history of the Kachwāhah Rājahs of D'hūnd'hār (afterwards of Jaipūr) from their origin to 1198/1783-4 : **Rieu** i 301a (A.H. 1198/1784).

898. **Basāwan La'l** "Shādān" b. Nansuk'h Rāy Kāyat'h Saksēnah, of Bilgrām, was for twelve years *Nā'ib Munshī* to a certain Rāy Dātā Rām. It was in 1240/1824-5 that he wrote his *Amīr-nāmah* at the request of Amīr al-Daulah M. Amīr Khān, a leader of banditti who in 1817 was recognised by the British as first Nawwāb of Tōnk and who died in 1834, and his son, Wazīr al-Daulah M. Wazīr Khān.

<sup>1</sup> This, the Hindī form of the Sanskrit *ramśūralī*, means "genealogy".

<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit *Mahārāj adhirāj*.



*Amīr-nāmah*, a life of Amīr Khān : **Āṣafiyah** i p. 220 no. 2 (A.H. 1240/1824-5), **Lahore** Panjab Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1242/1826-7. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926) p. 60), **Ivanow** 217 (A.H. 1251/1835-6. Inartistic Pictures), **Bānkipūr** vi 531 (19th cent.), **I.O.** 3895 (A.D. 1895), **Rieu** iii 1019a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

English translation by H. T. Prinsep : *Memoirs of the Puthan soldier of fortune, the Nuwab Ameer-ood-Doulah Mohummud Ameer Khan, Chief of Seronj, Tonk, Rampoor, Neemahera, and other places in Hindoostan.* **Calcutta** 1832\*.

Abridged Urdu translation by Munshī Dēbī Prashād : **Delhi** 1317/1899-1900\*, 1909\* (title of this last edition *Iftikhār al-tawārīkh*).

[For Amīr Khān see H. T. Prinsep *History of the political and military transactions in India during the administration of the Marquess of Hastings*, London, 1825; *Buckland Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 12; *Ency. Isl.* i 330.]

899. Other works :

(1) Account of the Rājahs of Alwar to the then reigning Bēnī Sing'h (d. 1857) : **Rieu** iii 1012b (19th cent.).

(2) *Aḥwāl i rājahā i Jaipūr* : **Browne** Suppt. 17 (King's).

(3) History of the Rājahs of Anbēr and Jaipūr from their origin to the time of composition (circ. A.H. 1260/1844) : **Rieu** iii 1029b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

(4) Fragment (4 foll.) of a history of Kōtah : **I.O.** 4061 (A.D. 1897).

M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (n) SARD'HANAH

900. Lālah **Gōkul Chand** was private secretary to Zēb al-Nisā' Bēgam, better known as Bēgam Samrū,<sup>1</sup> who succeeded her husband, the adventurer Walter Reinhardt, as jāgīrdār of

<sup>1</sup> For her life see Brajendranath Banerji *Begam Samru* (Calcutta 1925), which contains a good bibliography, Severin Noti *Das Fürstentum Sardhana* (Freiburg i. Br. 1906), H. G. Keene in the *Calcutta Review* for 1880, etc.



Sard'hānah<sup>1</sup> in 1778, became prominent in the events of Shāh-Ālam's reign and died in 1836. A prose history of Zēb al-Nisā' by Munshī Jai-Sing'h Rāy having been lost, Gōkul Chand was asked to write one in verse.

*Zēb al-tawārīkh*, a metrical life of Bēgam Samrū, composed in 1822 : **Rieu** ii 724a (A.D. 1822).

It is not clear whether **Lindesiana** p. 224 no. 779 (*Tārīkh i Bēgam Samrū*. A.D. 1841) is a copy of this or of a different work.

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (o) LAND'HAURAH

901. *Account of the rule of Rājah Rām-Dayāl Sing'h of Land'haurah*, Sahāranpūr District : **Rieu** iii 1012a (19th cent.).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (p) PARĪCHHATGARH

902. *History of the Rājahs of Parīchhatgarh* in the Meerut District : **Rieu** iii 1012a (foll. 53-56. 19th cent.).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (q) KŌL ETC.

903. **Sundar Lāl** son of **Naubat Lāl**, a Kāyat'h (i.e. Kāyast'ha) of the Māt'hur caste, was a *munshī* in the *Khālīṣah* Office and lived at Kōl.

*Majmū'ah i faid u Gul i bī-khazān*,<sup>2</sup> a history of Kōl, Mat'hurā and Brindāban written A.H. 1241/1825-6 : **Rieu** iii 959a (extracts only (26 foll.). Circ. A.D. 1850).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (r) ĀGRAH

For various works describing the Tāj Mahall and other buildings at Āgrah, often with more or less historical information, see the sub-section TOPOGRAPHY.

904. **Mānik Chand** was one of the students of the Government College, Āgrah, who responded to the request of James Stephen

<sup>1</sup> Sardhānah is 12 miles N.W. of Meerut.

<sup>2</sup> *Gul i bī-khazān* is the title given to the work in the table of contents at the end of the B.M. MS.



Lushington, Acting Collector at Āgrah 1825-6, for a historical account of Āgrah and its buildings.

*Aḥwāl i shahr i Akbarābād*, a history of Āgrah and an account of its buildings: **Rieu** iii 958b (19th cent.), iii 1044a (circ. A.D. 1844).

905. Another of the Āgrah students who responded to J. S. Lushington's invitation was Lālah **Sīl Chand**.

*Tafriḥ al-'imārāt* or *Aḥwāl i 'imārāt i Mustaqarr al-Khilāfah*, a history of Āgrah and an account of its buildings: **Aumer** 268, **Bānkipūr** vii 648, **Ethé** 731, **Ivanow** 288 (late 19th cent.).

An abridgment (?): *Hālāt i Akbarābād* by Sīl Chand: **Rieu** iii 1031a ("almost complete", but only filling foll. 21-58 of the MS.).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (s) FARRUKHĀBĀD

906. Nawal Rāy, son of Hirā La'ī, Ilāhābādī was in the service of Aḥmad Khān Bangash, Nawwāb of Farrukhābād, when in 1170/1756-7 he wrote his *Tawārīkh i Aḥmad-Khānī*.

*Tawārīkh i Aḥmad-Khānī* in two bābs, of which the first is a metrical account of Aḥmad Khān Bangash to his installation on the masnad in 1164/1751 and the second a metrical translation of tales collected from Hindī sources by a certain Gaurī Datt: **Rieu** iii 1003a (slightly defective at end. 18th cent.), 1054a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

907. Mīr Husām al-Dīn Guwāliyārī, surnamed (*mulaqqab*) Muṭṭlaq 'Alī Shāh,<sup>1</sup> left Gwalior, his home, and entered the service of the Nawwābs of Farrukhābād.

*Muḥammad-Khānī*, a history of the Bangash Nawwābs of Farrukhābād from the time of the founder, Muḥammad Khān Bangash, who died in 1156/1743 and after whom the work is evidently named, to the reign of Aḥmad Khān, who died in

<sup>1</sup> The author calls himself *faqīr i sarāpā-taqṣīr mulaqqab Muṭṭlaq 'Alī Shāh 'urf Mīr Husām al-Dīn Guwāliyārī*.



1185/1771 and who was evidently dead when this history was written, though the I.O. MS. contains no account of his death and apparently no date later than 1171/1757-8: **I.O.** 3896 (perhaps defective at end. Transcribed probably in 1878).

908. S. M. **Walī Allāh** b. Aḥmad 'Alī **Farrukhābādī** (d. 1249/1833-4) has already been mentioned (p. 25 *supra*) as the author of a commentary on the *Qur'ān* entitled *Nazm al-jawāhir wa-naqd al-farā'id*.

*Tārīkh i Farrukhābād*, a history of Farrukhābād and its Bangash rulers from its foundation in 1126/1714 to 1243/1827-8: **Rieu** iii 959b (A.D. 1852), **Ivanow** 194 (A.H. 1277/1860-1), 'Aligarh Subhān Allāh MSS. p. 57 (A.H. 1284/1867-8), **Calcutta** Imp. Lib. (see **Nadhīr Aḥmad** 65), **I.O.** 3898 (A.D. 1877).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (t) THE ROHILLAS (RŌHĒLAHS)

909. **Ghulām Muḥyī 'l-Dīn** (see **Ivanow** 870), or simply **Muḥyī 'l-Dīn**, "**Dhauqī**" b. Abī 'l-Ḥasan (Saiyid 'Abd al-Laṭīf, see **Ivanow** *l.c.*) was the author of *Madā'ih al-mashāyikh*, a collection of *qaṣīdahs* in praise of Qādirī saints (see **Ivanow** 871).

*Najīb-nāmah*, a metrical (*mathnawī*) history of **Najīb al-Daulah**, composed, when the author was 35 years old, probably in 1185/1771-2: **Ivanow** 870 (A.H. 1185/1771-2), **Ethé** 1715 (A.H. 1213/1798).

910. Nothing seems to be known about Saiyid **Nūr al-Dīn Ḥusain Khān Bahādur Fakhrī**, who, according to a note on a fly-leaf of the British Museum MS., is the author of

*A detailed history of Najīb al-Daulah*,<sup>1</sup> a Rohillah chief who was made Amīr al-umarā' by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, fought against the Marāṭhās and Jāts and was virtual ruler of Delhi until his death in 1184/1770: **Rieu** i 306a (end of 18th cent.).

<sup>1</sup> For an Urdu history, by Durgāprasād, son of Munnā La'l, see **Blumhardt's** India Office Catalogue of Hindustani MSS. no. 50.



Edition: *Sargudhasht i Nawwāb Najīb al-Daulah* [with an Urdu introduction by M. 'Abd al-Salām Khān 'Umar-Khail], 'Aligarh 1924\* (based on the B.M. MS.).

Condensed English translation (omitting the first 13 leaves): Jadunath Sarkar *An original account of Ahmad Shah Durrani's campaigns in India and the Battle of Panipat* (in *Islamic culture* vii/3 (Haidarābād, July 1933) pp. 431-56), *Najib-ud-daulah as the dictator of Delhi, 1761-1770* (*ibid.* vii/4 (Oct. 1933) pp. 613-39), *Life of Najib-ud-daulah: the last phase* (*ibid.* viii/2 (April 1934) pp. 237-57).

911. A dependant of Dābitāh Khān, who does not mention his name in the text but who in the colophon is called Munshī **Lachhmī Narāyan**, wrote

*A turgid account of the capture of Etawah* by Sharaf al-Daulah Dābitāh Khān on 29 Ramadān 1187/1773: **Rieu** iii 960b (A.H. 1268/1852).

912. Munshī **Shiv-Parshād** was in the service of Nawwāb Faiz-Allāh Khān, the Rohilla chief of Rāmpūr, who sent him as his *wakīl* to Bilgrām to negotiate with the British colonel there. At the request of Mr. Kirkpatrick, whom he met at Bilgrām, he wrote his

*Tārīkh i faiz-bakhsh*, completed A.H. 1190/1776 and dedicated to Faiz-Allāh Khān, a history of the Rohilla Afghans of Kat'hēr to their defeat by Shujā' al-Daulah and the E.I.Co. at Lāl Dāng in 1188/1774: **Rieu** i 306b (late 18th cent.), 307a (with some omissions and additions. Late 18th cent.), 307b (lacks the preface. A.D. 1802), iii 959a (with additions. 19th cent.), 1051a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Bodleian** 1972 (lacks preface), **Edinburgh** 236, **Ethé** 584, 585 (lacks the preface), 586 (lacks the preface. Extends to 1185/1771), **I.O.** 3942 (early 19th cent.), 3882 (A.D. 1893).

Free translation (with additions by the translator): *An historical relation of the origin, progress, and final dissolution of the government of the Rohilla Afghans in the Northern provinces of*



*Hindustan. Compiled*<sup>1</sup> *from a Persian Manuscript and other original papers. By Captain Charles Hamilton.*<sup>2</sup> [London,] 1787°\*.

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 175-9.

Criticism : Sir J. Strachey *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, p. xvi.

913. Nawwāb M. **Mustajāb Khān** was one of the fourteen sons of the famous Rohillah chieftain Hāfiz Raḥmat Khān, who died in 1188/1774 and is buried at Barēli (see pp. 396-7 *supra*, Buckland *Dictionary of Indian Biography* 184, *Ency. Isl.* ii 214-5, and the various histories of India). According to Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* Mustajāb Khān died on 2 Shawwāl 1248/[22] February 1833.

(1) *Gulistān i Raḥmat*, a life of Hāfiz Raḥmat Khān written in 1207/1792-3 : **Bānkipūr** Suppt. i 1773 (A.H. 1209/1794), **Ethé** 587 (copied from an autograph A.H. 1218/1804), **I.O.** 3891 (A.D. 1878), **Rieu** i 307b (A.D. 1865), 308a (A.H. 1233/1818), iii 1013a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Much abridged translation : *The life of Hafiz ool-moolk, Hafiz Rehmut Khan, written by his son, the Nuwab Moost'ujab Khan Buhadoor, and entitled Goolistan-i-Rehmut. Abridged and translated . . . by C. Elliott.* **London** 1831°\* (Oriental Translation Fund).

Description : Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii 301-12.

<sup>1</sup> Capt. Hamilton refrained from calling this work a translation, though "in great measure it was literally so", because "in some parts of it (those, in particular, which treat of such proceedings of the English government as were any way connected with it) he has necessarily had recourse to other sources of information". Capt. Hamilton calls the author "A Rohilla, a confidential servant of one of their chiefs", but this was no doubt merely a surmise on the part of the translator, who presumably had before him a manuscript lacking the preface in which the author mentions his name. An English note on the fly-leaf of **Ethé** 585 identifies the work with Capt. Hamilton's original.

<sup>2</sup> b. circ. 1753, entered military service of E.I.Co. in 1776, translated the *Hidāyah* (*The Hedaya, or Guide; a commentary on the Mussulman laws*, London 1791, 2nd ed. 1870), died 14 March 1792.



Criticism : Sir J. Strachey *Hastings and the Rohilla War* p. xvii (" They [i.e. the *Gulistān i Rahmat* and the *Gul i Rahmat*] have little historical value. The object of their authors was to eulogize Hafiz Rahmat ; everything that seemed to throw discredit on him is suppressed, and in the narrative of the events which led to the Rohilla war the facts are often completely misrepresented. For instance, no reference, except one that is altogether misleading, is made to the treaty entered into in 1772 between the Rohillas and the Vizier, which was attested by the English Commander-in-Chief, and the non-fulfilment of which led to the ruin of the Rohilla Government ").

(2) (*Damīmāh i Gulistān i Rahmat*), an account of Faiz Allāh Khān, the ruler of Rāmpūr, and of the hostilities between his sons after his death, written in 1233/1817-18 at the suggestion of Charles Elliott as a supplement to the *Gulistān i Rahmat* : I.O. 3891 foll. 291-311 (A.D. 1878).

Much abridged translation : *The life of Hafiz ool-moolk, Hafiz Rehmut Khan, . . . Abridged and translated . . . by C. Elliott* (see above), pp. 130-41.

914. Nawwāb M. Sa'ādat-Yār Khān b. Hāfiz Muḥammad-Yār Khān, of Barēli, was a grandson of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān and a nephew of Mustajāb Khān. He is the author of a treatise on the alleged Jewish origin of the Afghāns (Browne Suppt. 1462, Palmer's Trinity Coll. Cat. p. 157).

*Gul i Rahmat*, written in 1249 1833-4. an enlarged version of the *Gulistān i Rahmat* : Bānkipūr vii 603 (19th cent.). Rieu iii 1051b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1851), I.O. 3968 (19th cent.).

Edition : *Memoirs of Hafis Ruhmut Khan surnamed Hafis ool Moolk Chief of the Rohillas. By his grand-son Nawab Sadut Yar Khan of Bareilly* (Persian title : *Dhikr i Hāfiz Rahmat Khān*). Āgrah 1836°.

Criticism : see p. 697, l. 1 *supra*.

915. Ghulām-Jilānī " Rif'at " Rāmpūrī died in 1235 1819.

<sup>1</sup> This date is given by Nadhīr Aḥmad, who mentions the *Intikhāb i Yādghā* of Amīr Minā'ī (d. 1318/1900) as an authority for Ghulām-Jilānī's life.



There is a copy of his *dīwān* in the Rāmpūr State Library (see *Nadhīr Aḥmad* 137).

(1) *Durr i manẓūm*, a metrical history of Nawwāb Faiḍ-Allāh Khān and his children : *Aṣafiyah* i p. 240 no. 268, *Rieu* iii 1035*b* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

(2) *Ẓang-nāmah i Nawwāb Ghulām-Muḥammad Khān*, a metrical history of Gh. M. Kh., the second son of Nawwāb Faiḍ-Allāh Khān : *Rieu* Suppt. 351 (A.D. 1886).

[*Amīr Mīnā'ī Intikhāb i Yādgār*, *Nadhīr Aḥmad* 137.]

916. The year 1249/1833-4 is referred to as "the present year" at the end of a

*History of the Rohilla chiefs of Murādābād, afterwards of Rāmpūr, to 1219/1804-5* (beg. : *Ba'd i ḥamd u thanāy i Khudāy*), probably by the same author as the Sketch of Indian History mentioned on p. 474 *supra*, which gives special attention to the Rohillas : *Rieu* iii 1007*b* (19th cent.), **I.O.** 3738 (19th cent.).

917. Three years after the death of Aḥmad 'Alī Khān, i.e. in 1258 1842, was written

*A short account of the Rohilla chiefs of Rāmpūr to the death of Aḥmad 'Alī Khān in 1839* : *Rieu* iii 1012*a* iv (19th cent.).

918. Other works :

(1) *Nuqūl u khutūt dar 'amal i jang i Rōhēlah* : **Berlin** 529 30.

(2) *Nuzhat al-damā'ir*, a history of the Afghān power in India, by Aḥmad 'Alī, a resident of Murādābād : **Browne Pers.** Cat. 80.

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (u) JAUNPŪR

919. Maulawī Khair al-Dīn Muḥammad Ilāhābādī died about 1827 (see pp. 520 2 *supra*).

*Jaunpūr-nāmah* or *Tārīkh i Jaunpūr* in two bābs, viz. (i) history of Jaunpūr to 'Alī-Qulī Khān's defeat by Akbar in 974/



1566-7,<sup>1</sup> (ii) account of the foundation of its ancient buildings : **Bodleian** 283 (A.D. 1813), **Ivanow** 202 (A.H. 1253/1837), **Rieu** i 311a (A.H. 1282/1866), iii 964a (A.D. 1843), 1055a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Browne** Suppt. 231.

Editions : **Jaunpūr** 1878\*, 1899°.

Abridged translation : *A translation of the History of Jaunpoor ; from the Persian of Fugeer Khyr ööd deen Mööhumud. By an officer of the Bengal Army* [i.e. W. R. Pogson], **Calcutta** 1814°.

Urdu translation : *Tārīkh i Jaunpūr* by **Nadhīr al-Dīn Ahmad**, **Jaunpūr** [1921 ? Registered 10.1.1922].

The article on Jaunpūr in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. 41, pp. 114-58 is largely based on this work.

920. **Ghulām-Hasan Zaidī** Wāsiṭī was *munshī* to Charles Chisholme, Registrar of Jaunpūr, at whose request he wrote his historical account of Jaunpūr. His account of Calcutta will be mentioned further on.

*A short historical account of Jaunpūr* in two *fasls* (viz. (i) foundation and **Sharqī** dynasty, (ii) chief buildings) and a *tatimmah* (on six scholars of Jaunpūr, the last being **Raushan** 'Alī Jaunpūrī,<sup>2</sup> the author's master, then on the staff of the College of Fort William) : **Rieu** i 311b (autograph ? Circ. A.D. 1805), **Browne** Pers. Cat. 108 i.

M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (w) BENARES

921. **Ghulām-Husain Khān** b. M. Himmat **Khān** (see p. 642 *supra*) was in the service of Rājah Balwand Sing'h and his son Rājah **Chait** Sing'h.

*A history of the Zamīndārs of Benares* from the time of Rājah Mansā Rām to the deposition of Rājah **Chait** Sing'h in 1195/1781, edited and published by the author's grandson, Subhān 'Alī b. Ḥasan 'Alī **Khān**, with a dedication to Rājah **Isarī Parshād** Narāyan (acc. 1835) : **Bānkipūr** vii 608.

<sup>1</sup> The *Akbar-nāmah* places this event in 972/1565.

<sup>2</sup> **Raushan** 'Alī translated Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmili's *Khulāṣat al-ḥisāb* into Persian and wrote some grammatical works (*Qawā'id i fārisī* etc.).



922. Nawwāb Amīn al-Daulah 'Azīz al-Mulk 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān "Khalīl"<sup>1</sup> Naṣīr-Jang<sup>2</sup> belonged to Patnah. He is described in the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* (Calcutta ed. ii p. 173<sup>9</sup>) as the grandson (*nawah*)<sup>3</sup> of Maulawī M. Naṣīr and the son of a sister (*hamshīrah-zādah*) of Zā'ir Ḥusain Khān [who is himself described on the same page as the son (*khalaf*) of Maulawī M. Naṣīr]. His father's name is not mentioned in the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* nor apparently in the prefaces to 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān's own works.

He was a close friend and trusted adviser of Mīr Qāsim Khān, who on becoming *Nawwāb-Nāẓim* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1760 appointed him to examine the military accounts, and subsequently employed him to execute various important commissions. When Mīr Qāsim Khān after his defeats in 1763 sought refuge with Shujā' al-Daulah, the *Nawwāb-Wazīr* of Oudh, 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān accompanied him but did not go with him on his further flight to Rohilkhand.

On M. Ridā Khān's<sup>4</sup> recommendation he was appointed *Dīwān* by Mubārak al-Daulah, who became *Nāẓim* of Bengal in 1183/1770. M. Ridā Khān dismissed him in 1191/1777, and he lived in seclusion for a time. It was apparently in 1781<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Sprenger "Yūsuf 'alyy and Shōrish mention him under Khalyī and 'ishqy under Hāl". The second *takhalluṣ* mentioned by Sprenger is presumably a corruption of the former.

<sup>2</sup> Sprenger writes Naṣīr-jang, but 'Abd al-Muqtadir (Bānkīpūr viii p. 137) Naṣīr Jang.

<sup>3</sup> According to Sprenger "his mother's grandfather was the learned Mollā Moḥammad Naṣyr". If the facts given in the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn* are correct, "mother's grandfather" should be emended to "maternal grandfather".

<sup>4</sup> Cf. V. A. Smith *Oxford history of India*, p. 503: "Clive insisted on keeping up the fiction of the 'double government' and conducting the administration in the name of the Nawāb, whose authority was vested in two Nāibs or Deputies, Muhammad Razā Khān for Bengal, and a Hindu, Mahārājā Shitāb Rāi, for Bihār."

<sup>5</sup> See the Benares Gazetteer (1909) p. 204: "On the 28th of September Hastings returned to Benares and there formally installed as successor to Chet Singh the young Raja Mahip Narayan Singh, the son of Balwant Singh's daughter. At the same time the revenue of the province was raised to forty lakhs, while an independent magistrate was appointed for the city of Benares, the first to hold this post being Ali Ibrahim Khan."



that he was appointed Chief Magistrate<sup>1</sup> at Benares, and it was there that he died in 1208/1793-4.

His friend and fellow-'Azīmābādī, Ghulām-Husain Khān Tabāṭabā'ī, often mentions him in the *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*.

In addition to the account of Chait Sing'h's rebellion he wrote a history of the Marāṭ'hā wars (completed at Benares in 1201/1786-7. See p. 761 *infra*) and three *tadhkirahs*, the *Gulzār i Ibrāhīm* (Urdu poets, completed in 1198/1784. See Rieu i 375b, iii 1069a, Bānkīpūr viii 707, Bodleian 389), the *Khulāṣat al-kalām* (writers of *mathnawīs*, completed in the same year. See Lindesiana p. 177, Bodleian 390, Bānkīpūr viii 704-5, 706) and the *Ṣuḥuf i Ibrāhīm* (about 3,278 ancient and modern poets, completed at Benares in 1205/1790. See Berlin 663, Bānkīpūr viii 708).

(1) *Gulzār i Ibrāhīm* (?),<sup>2</sup> an account of the rebellion of Rājah Chait Sing'h of Benares in 1195/1781: Rieu iii 1033b (circ. A.D. 1850).

(2) "a declaration by 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, respecting the manner in which he had acquitted himself as governor of Benares, his maintenance of public order, his suppression of various abuses, and his impartial administration of justice," accompanied by numerous testimonials with signatures and seals, A.H. 1198/1784 being the latest date on a seal affixed: Rieu Suppt. 405 (a paper roll undated).

[A few autobiographical statements in the prefaces to his works; *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, Calcutta ed. ii p. 172<sup>9</sup> *et passim*; *A translation of the Sēir mutaqherin* [by Nota manus = Hājji Mustafā = Raymond] reprint, Calcutta 1926, vol. iii pp. 83 n., *et passim* (see the index under Aaly-Hibrahim-Qhan); *Tadhkirah i Yūsuf 'Alī Khān* (cf. Sprenger p. 194); *Tadhkirah i Shōrish*; *Tadhkirah i 'Ishqī*; Sprenger pp. 180, 194; Beale *Oriental*

<sup>1</sup> According to Buckland he was " 'Daroga' [sic] of the Court at Benares, that is, President of the tribunal there".

<sup>2</sup> This title occurs in the subscription. Its correctness is doubtful, since it is the title of a *tadhkirah* of Urdu poets completed by 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān in 1198/1784.



*biographical dictionary* p. 57; *Buckland Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 10.]

923. Maulawī **Khair al-Dīn Muḥammad Ilāhābādī** died about 1827 (see pp. 520–2 *supra*). His *Tuḥfah i tāzah* was written at the request of Abraham Welland, Judge at Jaunpūr.

*Tuḥfah i tāzah*, or (*Balwand-nāmah*), a history of the Zamīndārs of Benares from the time of Rājah Mansā Rām to the deposition of Rājah Chait Sing'h in 1195/1781 (chapters iv and v which the author intended to devote to Mahīpat Narāyan and Ūdīt Narāyan Sing'h having apparently never been written): **Ivanow** 204 (A.H. 1253/1837), **Rieu** iii 964*b* (circ. A.D. 1850), 965*a* (A.D. 1844), **Bānkipūr** vii 607 (19th cent.), **Ethé** 483, 2842 (fragment of Bāb iii), **I.O.** 3894 (A.D. 1892), 3911 (A.D. 1879).

English translation: *The Bulwuntnamah translated from the Tuḥfa-i-Taza of Fakir Khair-ud-din-Khan, by R. Curwen, Allahabad* 1875 (see Heffer's Catalogue no. 94 (1912), item 1090).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (x) GHĀZĪPŪR

924. Of unknown authorship is

(*Tārīkh i Ghāzīpūr*), a short history of Ghāzīpūr devoted mainly to biographies of some celebrities buried there or connected therewith: **I.O.** 4084 (A.D. 1878 or 1879?).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (y) GŌRAK'HPŪR

925. Of unknown authorship is

*Tārīkh i Mu'azzamābād ma'rūf bah Gōrak'hpūr*, a short (28 pp.) history of Gorakhpur from the beginning of the 11th century to 1797: Edition: [**Lucknow**,] 1872°.

926. Muftī **Ghulām-Ḥaḍrat** was at one time *Muftī* and *Ṣadr Amīn* at Gōrak'hpūr.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Possibly identical with Muftī **Ghulām-Ḥaḍrat** Lak'hnavī, *Muftī i 'adālat i baldah i Lak'hna'ū*, who died in 1234/1818–19 (see Raḥmān 'Alī 154).



*Kawā'if i dīl i Gōrak'hpūr*, a short history of Gōrak'hpūr to the time of its cession to the East India Company by the Nawwāb-Wazīr of Oudh : **I.O.** 4540 (probably transcribed in 1810, the date on the title-page of the English translation), 'Aligarh Subh. MSS. p. 58 no. 954/12 (*Tārīkh i Gōrak'hpūr*).

MS. English translation : *History of Goruckpoor*, **I.O.** 4540 (bound up with the Persian text).

M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (z) A'ZAMGARH

927. **Gird'hārī**, a clerk (*muḥarrir*) in the office of the *Qānūn-gōyān*, wrote in 1216/1801

*Intizām i rāj i A'zamgarh*, a history of the Rājahs of A'zamgarh from the time of Abhiman and Sāgar (in the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr) to the end of the *rāj* on the death of the Rājah M. A'zam **Khān** in 1771 : **Edinburgh** 237 (A.H. 1289/1872).

928. S. **Amīr 'Alī Ridawī** was alive in 1289/1872.

*Sargudhasht i rājahā i A'zamgarh*, a history of A'zamgarh from the time of Abhiman Sing'h to the transfer of the district to the British in 1801 by Sa'adat-'Alī **Khān** of Oudh : **Edinburgh** 238 (A.H. 1289/1872, autograph).

Urdu translation by the author himself : **Edinburgh** 377.

929. Of unknown authorship is

(*Tārīkh i A'zamgadḥ*), a history of A'zamgarh from the time of Abhiman Rāy to 1887 (beginning : *Hamd i gūnāgūn Parwardgārī rā saḥād*) : **I.O.** 4038 (probably A.D. 1907).

M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (aa) OUDH (AWAD'H<sup>1</sup>)

930. A friend of Burhān al-Mulk Sa'adat **Khān**, Governor of Oudh, wrote

*An account of Burhān al-Mulk's part in the military operations against Nādir Shāh.*

<sup>1</sup> Not Awadh, as in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* and elsewhere. To turn the time-honoured English corruption Oudh into Oudh is still more absurd.



English translation [from a MS. in the possession of the translator]: *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizábád, being a translation of the "Tárikh Farahbaksh" of Muhammad Faiz Baksh ... by W. Hoey, vol. i, appendix (14 pp.)*.

931. Maulawī **Khair al-Din Muhammad Ilāhābādī** died about 1827 (see pp. 520-2 *supra*).

"*A circumstantial account of the affairs of Oude* from the death of Shujā' ud-Daulah A.H. 1188 to the assassination of Mukhtār ud-Daulah, on the 27th of Šafar, A.H. 1189, and the subsequent defeat and capture of Maḥbūb 'Alī **Khān**": **Rieu** iii 948a (circ. A.D. 1850).

932. Munshī **In'ām 'Alī** b. M. **Khawurram Shāh Munshī** was for ten years in the service of Šafdar-Jang (1739-1756) and for twelve years in that of Shujā' al-Daulah (1756-1775). He then retired to Bijnaur, his native place.

*Auṣāf al-Āṣaf*, in five *nuskahs* ((i) historical, (ii) letters, (iii) anecdotes, (iv) *ghazals* and *qit'ahs*, (v) *Rēkhtah* poems), the first being divided into five *rukns* ((i) Sa'ādat **Khān**, (ii) Šafdar-Jang, (iii) Shujā' al-Daulah, (iv) Āṣaf al-Daulah (d. 1212/1797) to 1198/1783, (v) Wazīr 'Alī **Khān**, who succeeded in 1212/1797 but was deposed after a few months, this last *rukn* being an addition to the original draft, which was written in 1199/1784-5): **Rieu** iii 960b (*Nuskah* i only, copied from an autograph. Circ. 1850).

933. It was presumably in the time of Āṣaf al-Daulah that "**Mauzūn**" wrote his

*Āṣaf-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* on the campaign of Āṣaf al-Daulah against Ghulām-Muḥammad **Khān**, of Rāmpūr: **Būhār** 421 (19th cent.), possibly also **I.O.** 4056.

934. **Abū Tālib Iṣfahānī** (for whom see p. 144-6 *supra*) was born at Lucknow in 1166/1752-3. He held various appointments under the Government of Oudh and the E.I.Co.'s agents there, and died at Lucknow in 1220/1805-6. It was in 1211/1796-7 at Calcutta that Captain Richardson asked him to write



a history of the time of Āṣaf al-Daulah (1775-97). He accordingly wrote his

*Tafḍīḥ al-ghāfilīn*, of which no MSS. seem to be mentioned in library catalogues.

English translation [from a MS. in the translator's possession] : *History of Āṣafu'd Daulah, . . . being a translation of "Tafzīḥu'l ghāfilīn," . . . compiled by Abu Tālib . . . and translated . . . by W. Hoey, Allahabad 1885\**.

935. Āghā M. 'Alī Bihbahānī wrote

*Tārīkh i Wazīr 'Alī*, presumably a history of Wazīr 'Alī Khān, who became Nawwāb of Oudh on Āṣaf al-Daulah's death in September 1797 but was deposed by Sir John Shore in January 1798 : no MSS. recorded.

Abridgment : *Khulāṣah i Tārīkh i Wazīr 'Alī* : Lahore Panjāb Univ. Lib. (see *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (August 1926) p. 60).

936. An anonymous author completed on 6 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1215/1800 his

*Iqbāl-nāmah*, a metrical account of the accession of Wazīr 'Alī Khān and his dethronement by Sir John Shore : *Būhār* 423 (A.H. 1316/1898-9).

937. For the *Ma'dīn al-sa'ādat* of S. Sultān 'Alī Ḥusainī Ṣafawī Ardabīlī, a history of the Indian Tīmūrīds and of the Nawwābs of Oudh dedicated to Sa'ādat 'Alī Khān and brought down to his seventh year, A.H. 1218/1803-4, see p. 520 *supra*.

938. S. Ghulām-'Alī Khān Naqawī b. S. M. Akmal Khān, born at Rai Bareilly, was taken in his eighth year to Delhi, where his father was physician to Shāh-'Ālam and tutor to Prince M. Akbar. In 1202/1788, when Delhi fell into the power of the Rohillah Ghulām-Qādir Khān, Ghulām-'Alī, who was still a student, and his father fled to Lucknow and the Deccan respectively. In 1213/1798-9 he joined his father in the Deccan and wandered about South India with him for seven years. After his father's death he returned to Oudh, and in 1222/1807



he entered the service of Colonel John Baillie ('Imād al-Daulah Afḍal al-Mulk J. B. Bahādur Arslān-Jang), the British Resident at Lucknow. In the printer's colophon to the 1864 edition of the '*Imād al-sa'ādat* he is described as John Baillie's *Mīr Munshī*.

For his *Nigār-nāmah i Hind*, an account of the Battle of Pānīpat (1174/1761) written after the '*Imād al-sa'ādat* and likewise for John Baillie, see p. 399 *supra*.

'*Imād al-sa'ādat*, a history of Burhān al-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān and his successors to 1216/1801, in the time of Sa'ādat-'Alī Khān (1798-1814), with an account of the British Residents to 1223, completed in Shā'bān 1223/1808: **Rieu** i 308*a* (A.H. 1227/1812), iii 961*a* (19th cent.), 1030*b* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1844), 1052*b* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Aṣafīyah** i p. 248 no. 458 (A.H. 1239/1823-4), **Lindesiana** p. 144 no. 437 (A.H. 1261/1845), **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (A.H. 1266/1849-50. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii no. 4 (August 1926) p. 59), '**Aligarh** Subh. MSS. p. 58 no. 955 (4) (A.D. 1892), **Bānkīpūr** vii 604, **Berlin** 506, **I.O.** D.P. 616, **Ivanow** 193, **R.A.S.** P. 91 = Morley 89.

Editions: [**Lucknow**,] 1864°\*, 1897°.

Description: Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 394-5.

['*Imād al-sa'ādat*, preface; **Rieu** i 308*a*; **Bānkīpūr** vii 604.]

939. M. **Faiḍ-Bakhsh** b. Ghulām-Sarwar left his birthplace Kākōrī in Ṣafar 1183/1769, when still a boy, for Faiḍābād (Fyzabad), the seat of Shujā' al-Daulah's government. Some years later he became *Tahwīldār* of the Treasury under the eunuch Jawāhir 'Alī Khān, the *Nāẓir* (d. 1214/1799), and held the same appointment under his successor Dārāb 'Alī Khān.

(1) *Farah-bakhsh* (called in some copies *Bahr al-ifādat*), a history of Fyzabad from 1179/1765-6 to 1233/1817-18, the date of composition, preceded by an account of the Indian Tīmūrīds to the downfall of the Saiyids: **Rieu** i 309*b* (A.H. 1247/1832), 310*b* (1st pt. (i.e. the Tīmūrīds) only. A.D. 1865), iii 1026*a* (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).



English translation: *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizábád, being a translation of the "Tárikh Farahbaksh" . . . by W. Hoey.* 2 vols. **Allahabad** 1888-9<sup>o</sup>\*

Abridgment: *Hasb al-irshād dar bayān i ahwāl i Faidābād*, by S. Mahdī 'Alī "Imāmī": **Rieu** i 310b (A.H. 1240/1825).

(2) *Autobiography* with numerous biographical notes on his relations, friends etc., who belonged to different *zamīndār* families of Lucknow, Faidābād etc., with many references to contemporary political events, written, at least partly, in 1230/1815: **Ivanow** Curzon 87 (rather bad condition).

940. Qādī M. Šādiq **Khān** "**Akhtar**" **Hūglawī**, one of the *qādī-zādagān* of Hūglī, near Calcutta, lived at Lucknow in the time of Ghāzī al-Dīn Haidar and received the title of Malik al-shu'arā'. According to the *Sham' i anjuman* he died at Lucknow after the Mutiny. According to the *Riyād al-afkār* (as summarised by 'Abd al-Muqtadir) "he lived for some time at Lucknow and the Deccan". Of his works Sprenger mentions (1) *Sarāpā sūz*, an Urdu *mathnawī* composed in 1231/1816 and lithographed at Lucknow, (2) *Subh i šādiq*, an autobiography in ornate Persian, (3) *Maḥāmid i Haidarī*, (4) a *tadhkirah* of Persian poets,<sup>1</sup> "which is said to be very valuable," and (5) an *inshā'* entitled *Haft akhtar*. Sprenger says that the first three had been printed but not the last two. The *Sham' i anjuman* mentions (1) *Subh i šādiq*, (2) *Nūr al-inshā'*, (3) *Maḥāmid i Haidarīyah*, (4) *Nuqūd al-hikam*, and (5) *dīwān i fārisī u Urdū-yi rēkhtah*. In the *Riyād al-afkār* only no. (3) and another work *Hadīqat al-irshād* (on *inshā'*)<sup>2</sup> are mentioned. For his *Makhzan al-jawāhir* see p. 151 *supra*. The *Maḥāmid i Haidarīyah* (Edition: Lucknow 1238/1823\*), a panegyric in prose and verse (by M. Šādiq himself, not by various authors) on Ghāzī al-Dīn Haidar, contains nothing of historical interest.

*Guldastah i maḥabbat*, an account, in prose and verse of the meeting of Lord Hastings and Ghāzī al-Dīn Haidar.

<sup>1</sup> *Āftāb i 'ālam-tāb* (see *Oriental College Magazine* iii no. 2 (Feb. 1927) p. 54).

<sup>2</sup> For a MS. see *Bānkīpūr* ix no. 887.



Edition : **Lucknow** 1239/1823-4 (see Sprenger p. v).

[*Riyāḍ al-afkār* (see Bānkīpūr Suppt. i p. 49) ; Sprenger p. 599 ; *Sham' i anjuman* pp. 63-4 ; Bānkīpūr ix p. 123.]

941. It was at the request of Lieut. John Doeswell Shakespeare, Second Assistant to Colonel [afterwards Sir] John Low, Resident at Lucknow 1831-42, that '**Abd al-Aḥad b. Maulawī M. Fā'iq**, who had been twelve years in the E.I.Co.'s service, composed in 1253/1837-8 his

*Waqā'i' i dil-padhīr*, a history of Pādshāh Bēgam, wife of Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaidar (Shāh-Zamān, who reigned A.H. 1229/1814-1244/1827), to the year 1253/1837-8, when she tried to place upon the throne Munnā Jān, a pretended son of her husband's successor : **Rieu** iii 961b (A.H. 1266/1849), **Ivanow** Curzon 46 (A.H. 1279/1862), **Āṣafiyah** iii p. 112 no. 1273.

942. It was for Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaidar (1814-27) that **M. Ṣāliḥ** wrote his

*Baḥr al-sa'ādat*, a history of Oudh described by Sprenger as a revised edition of the '*Imād al-sa'ādat* : **Rieu** iii 1053b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

943. To the reign of Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaidar (1814-27) presumably belongs

*Rūz-nāmchah i darbār i Abū 'l-Muẓaffar Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaidar Bādshāh i Awad'h* : **Āṣafiyah** i p. 240 no. 702.

944. **M. Muḥtasham Khān** was the son of Nawwāb Maḥabbat Khān "Maḥabbat", who wrote works in Persian, Urdu and Pushtu (see Blumhardt *Cat. of Hindustani MSS.* no. 161, Garcin de Tassy ii 349, Ethé 2452, etc.), and the grandson of the celebrated Rohillah chieftain, Ḥāfiẓ Raḥmat Khān (for whom see pp. 396-7 *supra*).

*Tārīkh i Muḥtasham*, a history of the Oudh dynasty to the



death of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaidar in 1253/1837, the date of composition<sup>1</sup>: **Bānkipūr** vii 605 (A.H. 1217/1802-3!! In this copy the account of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaidar's predecessors occupies more than half of the work and fills 173 leaves or thereabouts), **I.O.** 4090 (contains the reign of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaidar and little more, the account of his predecessors being reduced to a sketch of about 17 leaves. A.D. 1839).

945. Apparently of unknown authorship is the *Tārīkh i Shāhīyah i Nīshāpūriyah*,<sup>2</sup> a history of Oudh from the time of Sa'adat Khān [not Sa'adat-'Alī Khān] to 1254/1838 in the reign of M. 'Alī Shāh : **Rāmpūr** (see Nadhīr Aḥmad 60).

946. Fakhr al-Daulah Dabīr al-Mulk Rājah **Ratan Sing'h** "Zakhmī" b. Rāy Bālak Rām, a Saksēnah Kāyast'h, whose grandfather was *Dīwān* and *Atālīq* to Āṣaf al-Daulah and afterwards *Nāẓim* of Barēlī, was born at Lucknow A.H. 1197/1782-3, went to Calcutta in 1218/1803-4 and served the E.I.Co. for some years. In 1230/1814-15 he returned to Lucknow and eventually became Minister of Finance. He died in 1851.<sup>3</sup> He wrote a *tadhkirah* entitled *Anīs al-'āshiqīn*, a philosophical treatise called *Jām i gītī-numā* (see Rieu iii 1096) and a *dīwān* (lith. Lucknow 1253/1837-8. See Sprenger 570).

*Sultān al-tawārīkh*, a detailed history of the Oudh dynasty to the death of M. 'Alī Shāh in 1258/1842: **Rieu** iii 962 (A.H. 1265/1849), **I.O.** 3961 (A.D. 1878).

<sup>1</sup> The preface contains a statement that the work is divided into two *ṭabaqahs*. If the subscription of the Bānkipūr copy is correct, the first *ṭabaqah* ends with the death of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaidar, that is to say, with the conclusion of the work as preserved in the only two copies at present recorded in published catalogues. The I.O. MS. seems to contain no indication of the beginning or end of any *ṭabaqah*. It is not clear what the second *ṭabaqah* could contain (unless perhaps an autobiography), if, as stated in the preface, the work was completed in 1253, and if, as implied by the Bānkipūr subscription, the first *ṭabaqah* ended with an event of that year.

<sup>2</sup> The kings of Oudh were of Nīshāpūrī descent.

<sup>3</sup> The British Museum manuscript of the *Sultān al-tawārīkh* was presented to Sir H. M. Elliot by the author "about the time of his death, 1851". According to Sprenger he died in 1850 or 1851.



[*Sultān al-tawārīkh* (B.M. MS.) foll. 248-51; Beale *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* p. 332; Sprenger 570; Rieu iii 962.]

947. S. **Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaidar**, as he is usually called, or S. Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusainī Ḥaidarī, as he calls himself in a versified chronogram at the beginning of his history, or S. Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaidar Ḥasanī al-Ḥusainī al-Mashhadī Tūn [*sic*; read Tūsī?] Ṭabasī *al-ma'rūf bah* S. Muḥammad Mīr Ṣāhib Zā'ir, as he is called on the title-page of the Urdu translation, says in that work that he became translator to the Lucknow Observatory in the reign of Naṣir al-Daulah M. 'Alī Shāh (A.H. 1253/1837-1258/1842), and that he had translated nineteen scientific works, most of which had been printed. Garcin de Tassy mentions a *Risālah i maqnātīs* [Delhi 1850\* according to Blumhardt], a *Risālah i ālāt i riyādī* and a translation of Paley's *Natural theology*. The last, entitled *Ma'rifat i ṭabī'ī* (Garcin gives a different title), was published, according to Blumhardt, at Delhi in 1848\* (Garcin says Lucknow 1848). Another work with which he was associated was *The Lucknow Almanac for the year 1849. Translated into Persian by Syud Kumalooddeen and assistants . . . (Taqwīm i sultānī)*, Lucknow 1849° (see Edwards under Ephemerides). Sprenger tells us that "In 1849,<sup>1</sup> Kamāl aldyn Ḥaydar, Munshiy to the observatory, wishing to ingratiate himself at court, wrote a history of the Royal family of Oudh. Two passages happened to displease His Majesty, and instantly the observatory was abolished and printing was forbidden at Lucknow, lest this objectionable production might be published".

(*Tārīkh i Awad'h*), a history of the Oudh dynasty to the accession of Wājid 'Alī Shāh in 1263/1847: Rieu iii 962b (A.D. 1849), 963a (A.D. 1848) [These MSS. contain at the end (1) a metrical narrative by "Aḥmad" <sup>2</sup> of an attempt on the life of the *Wazīr* Amīn al-Daulah, (2) a circumstantial account of affairs in Oudh at the beginning of Wājid 'Alī's reign, to June 1849 in the 1st MS., to Oct. 1848 in the 2nd, (3) a history of the

<sup>1</sup> One of the B.M. MSS. is dated 1848.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. presumably Mīr 'Alī b. Mīr Najaf 'Alī (see Pūran Chand's *Ījāz al-siyar*, MS. I.O. 3886 fol. 224b marg.).



Observatory], **Ivanow** 2nd Suppt. 931 (enlarged version, extending to A.D. 1858. Defective and damaged. Autograph?).

Edition : There seems to be no trustworthy evidence that the Persian text has been published. Rieu probably had the Urdu translation in mind when he said that the work had been published under the title of *Sawāniḥāt i Salāṭīn i Awad'h* at Lucknow in 1879.

Urdu translation : *Tawārīkh i Awad'h*, **Lucknow** 1879°\* (in 2 vols. with separate title-pages, vol. i called *Sawāniḥāt i Salāṭīn i Awad'h* and extending from Sa'ādat Khān to Amjad 'Alī Shāh, vol. ii called *Qaiṣar al-tawārīkh* and extending from the accession of Wājid 'Alī Shāh to the suppression of the Indian Mutiny).

[Autobiographical statements in the *Tārīkh i Awad'h* (see Rieu iii 962b); Sprenger p. vi; Garcin de Tassy i pp. 548-9.]

948. **Pūran Chand** was probably employed in the *Dīwān i Wizārat* at Lucknow, since he says that on 5 Ṣafar 1268 he was present there as usual (*ḥasb i dastūr*) and was conversing with Mushīr al-Daulah (*Ījāz al-siyar* fol. 15a). On a certain occasion he accompanied Rāy Pratāp Narāyan (fol. 288a) and on another he was sitting in the court of Aḥmad Khān Bangash at Farrukh-ābād (fol. 290a). In the preface to the *Ījāz al-siyar* he gives a list of 18 works which he had written or edited. The *Ījāz al-siyar* is there described as an abridgment of the *Sultān al-siyar*, which he hoped shortly to complete.

*Ījāz al-siyar*, a history of Oudh written in 1267/1850-1 (but, as already stated, the date 1268 is mentioned) for Wājid 'Alī Shāh : **I.O.** 3886 (probably A.D. 1850-1 or soon after, perhaps autograph).

949. **Lāl-jī**, son of **Munshī Sital Parshād**, son of **Munshī Shīv Kumār**, a resident (*mutawattīn*) of Kaṛrā, wrote his *Sultān al-ḥikāyāt* in Muḥarram 1270/1853.

*Sultān al-ḥikāyāt*, a concise history of Oudh from the time of Burhān al-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān to that of Wājid 'Alī Shāh : **I.O.** 3902 (A.D. 1893).



950. Nawwāb **Amir 'Alī Khān** has already been mentioned (p. 648 *supra*) as the author of the *Amīr-nāmah* and the *Bēring-nāmah*.

*Wazīr-nāmah*, begun apparently in 1288/1871-2, completed in 1292/1875, and divided into four *bābs* ((i) a short account of the Qarā-Yūsufī dynasty of Oudh to the end of Wājīd 'Alī's reign, (ii) the mission of the Queen-Mother to England to appeal against the annexation of Oudh, (iii) Wājīd 'Alī's residence at Garden Reach, Calcutta, and the author's services to him, (iv) works or extracts from works in prose and verse by Wājīd 'Alī Shāh, poems by the author and others).

Edition: **Cawnpore** 1293/1876\*.

951. Kunwar **Durgā-Parshād** "Mihr" **Sandilī** has already been mentioned (p. 491 *supra*) as the author of the *Gulistān i Hind*.

*Būstān i Awad'h*, a history of Oudh in six *daftars* ((i) Hindu kings, (ii) Wazīrs of the Delhi Emperors, (iii) Kings of Oudh, (iv) the period of the Mutiny, (v) the author's ancestors, (vi) on Sandīlah and its notables, Wājīd 'Alī's death etc.

Edition: **Lucknow** 1892°\*.

952. Mīr Saiyid **Muḥammad** "Shā'ir" b. S. 'Abd al-Jalīl<sup>1</sup> Husainī Wāsītī **Bilgrāmī** was born at Bilgrām in 1101/1689. When his father retired in 1130/1717-18 from the offices of *Bakhshī* and *Waqā'i'-nawīs* in the *sarkārs* of Bhakkar and Sīwistān, S. Muḥammad was appointed to these offices by Farrukhsiyar and he held them through the period of Nādir Shāh's invasion. In 1155/1732 he left Sīwistān and returned to Bilgrām, where he died on 8 Sha'bān 1185/12 November 1772.

He wrote poetry in Persian, Arabic and Urdu, made an abridgment of the *Mustatraf* under the title *al-Juz' al-ashraf*

<sup>1</sup> A detailed biography of S. 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī in Urdu was published at Allahabad in 1929 by S. Maqbūl Aḥmad Ṣamdānī under the title of *Hayāt i Jalīl*. See also *Ma'āthir al-kirām*, *Subḥat al-marjān* pp. 79-85, Raḥmān 'Alī 108-9, *Sham' i anjuman* p. 313.



*min al-Mustatraf*, and compiled a small collection of his father's letters. He was the maternal uncle of Ghulām-'Alī "Azād" Bilgrāmī.

*Tabṣirat al-nāẓirīn*, composed A.H. 1182/1768 and divided into a *muqaddimah* (on seven Bilgrāmī Saiyids anterior to A.H. 1100/1688-9), a *maqālah* (chronologically arranged information concerning events which occurred from A.H. 1101/1689-90, the date of the author's birth, to A.H. 1182/1768-9 in the lives of Bilgrāmī Saiyids and others, especially their births, marriages and deaths, and in the contemporary history of India) and a *khātimah* (on solar eclipses, chronograms etc.): **Rieu** iii 963b (A.D. 1852), **Ivanow** 190 (A.H. 1290/1873), **Bānkīpūr** vii 606 (A.D. 1875), **Aṣafīyah** iii p. 98 nos. 1422, 1494, **I.O.** 3912 (A.D. 1882).

[*Safīnah i Khwushgū* (Bānkīpūr viii p. 111); *Ma'āthir al-kirām*; *Tabṣirat al-nāẓirīn*; *Subḥat al-marjān* 87-9; *Sham' i anjuman* p. 234; *Raḥmān 'Alī* 83; *Hayāt i Jalīl* (in Urdu) by S. Maqbūl Aḥmad Ṣamdānī, Allahabad 1929, pp. 159-63.]

953. Saiyid 'Abid Ḥusain, a resident of Sahasrām, was a pleader (*wakīl*) in the Civil Court of Mirzāpūr.

*Tārīkh i Jā'is* (chronogram = 1285 Faṣlī = A.H. 1295/1878), a short (23 pp.) history of the village of Jā'is (once in the *Sharqī* kingdom of Jaunpūr, later in the Mānikpūr *sarkār* of the *ṣūbah* of Ilāhābād, now in the Rāy Barēli district of Oudh), with accounts of some of its famous men, based mainly on the *Mazhar al-'ajā'ib* of S. Ḥusain 'Alī.

Edition : Allahabad 1295/1878\*.

954. Other works :

(1) *Aḥwāl i Nawwāb Burhān al-Mulk wa-ghairah* : **Ethé** 527 (14) (foll. 124b-135a).

(2) *Burhān i Awad'h*, by Maulawī S. Ibn i Ḥasan : 'Aligarh Subh. MSS. p. 58 no. 954 (14).



## M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (bb) BENGAL AND ORISSA

955. 'Alā' al-Dīn "**Ghaibī**" Isfahānī called Mirzā **Nat'han**<sup>1</sup> and created **Shitāb Khān** by Jahāngīr was of Persian descent but was born in India. His father Malik 'Alī entitled Ihtimām **Khān** was sent to Bengal by Jahāngīr as *Mīr-Bahr* ("chief of artillery and flotilla (*nawwara*)" according to Sarkar). Mirzā Nathan took a prominent part in military operations against the Ahoms and neighbouring peoples (for details see the index to S. N. Bhattacharyya's *History of Mughal North-East Frontier policy*).

*Bahāristān i Ghaibī*, a history of Bengal and Orissa in Jahāngīr's time divided into four *bābs* or *daftars* ((1) entitled *Islām-nāmah*, on the governorship of Islām **Khān Chishtī**, (2) governorship of Qāsim **Khān**, (3) governorship of Ibrāhīm **Khān Fath-Jang**, (4) usurpation of **Shāh-Jahān** for about a year (A.D. 1623)) subdivided into *dāstāns*: **Bloch** i 617<sup>2</sup> (autograph acc. to Sarkar).

Descriptions: (1) *A New History of Bengal in Jahangir's Time* (with full table of contents). By Jadunath Sarkar (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. vii (1921-2), pp. 1-8). (2) *A history of Mughal North-East Frontier policy...* By Sudhindra Nath Bhattacharyya, Calcutta 1929, pp. vii-ix, 406 (this work contains much information from the *Bahāristān i Ghaibī*).

English translation: *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī. A history of the Mughal wars in Assam, Cooch Behar, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, by Mīrzā Nathan. Translated... by M. I. Borah. Gauhati* (see Luzac's *Oriental List*, vol. xlviii/2 (April-June 1937) p. 81).

956. M. Wafā 'Azīmābādī was a panegyrist of Mahābat-Jang.

*Waqā'i i Mahābat-Jang*, an account of Mahābat-Jang

<sup>1</sup> For this name see the remarks of S. N. Bhattacharyya in his *History of Mughal North-East Frontier policy* pp. vii-viii.

<sup>2</sup> There is a rotograph of this MS. in the possession of Dacca University Library.



beginning with the events which immediately preceded his accession to the *Nizāmat* in 1153/1740 and extending to the year 1161/1748, in chronogrammatic sentences, each indicating the date of the event narrated: **Bāṅkīpūr** Suppt. i 1776 (A.D. 1870), apparently also **Browne** Suppt. 1365 (*Waqā'i' i badā'i' i ahwāl i muḥārabāt i Bangālāh*, by Shāh Wifāq [sic, but with a query] 'Azīmābādī, described as "a rhymed chronicle of the wars in Bengal in 3 parts, each with a separate pagination, dealing respectively with the years 1156/1743-4, 1158/1745-6, and 1161/1748". A.D. 1826. Corpus 102<sup>1</sup>) and probably also **Lindesiana** p. 232 no. 772 ("History of Bengal", by Shāh M. Wafā. Circ. A.D. 1830).

957. Of unknown authorship is the

'*Ibrat i arbāb i baṣar* (a chronogram = 1170/1757), a history of Bengal from the fall of 'Alā' al-Daulah Sarfarāz Khān in 1151 (so Rieu, but 1151/1739 is the date usually given for his accession and 1153/1740 for his death) to the death of Sirāj al-Daulah in 1170/1757, the whole consisting of a series of chronogrammatic sentences indicating the year 1170: **Rieu** iii 965a (A.H. 1263/1847), **I.O.** 3984 (A.D. 1893), probably also **Browne** Suppt. 852 ("A rhymed chronicle of the events of the year 1170/1756-7. Cf. B.M.P.C., p. 965. The author of this versified [sic] rendering appears to be called Bālakmand." <sup>1</sup> A.D. 1826. Corpus 102<sup>2</sup>), and **Lindesiana** p. 209 no. 772b ("Rāi Balkund ? Bengal History, A.H. 1150-80." Circ. A.D. 1840).

Edition: **Benares** 1824<sup>o</sup>.\*

958. Munshī **Salīm Allāh** was *Munshī* to Mīr M. Ja'far Khān (*Nāẓim* of Bengal 1170/1757-1174/1760 and 1177/1763-1178/1765) and afterwards to Henry Vansittart (Governor of Bengal 1760-4), by whose order he wrote his *Tawārīkh i Bangālā*.

*Tawārīkh* (or *Tārīkh*) *i Bangālā*, a history of the *Nāẓims* of Bengal, Ibrāhīm Khān, Ja'far Khān, Sarfarāz Khān, Shujā' al-Daulah and 'Alī-Wirdī Khān from the rebellion of Sōbhā Sing'h in 1107/1695-6 to 1169/1756: **Ethé** 478 (not later than

<sup>1</sup> Bāl-Mukund presumably.



A.D. 1787), ii 3017 (n.d.), **I.O.** 3955 (18th cent.), **Ivanow** Curzon 48 (slightly defective. A.D. 1787), **Āṣafiyah** iii p. 94 no. 1038 (before A.D. 1792), **Rieu** i 312b (defective at end. 18th cent.), **Berlin** 498, **Edinburgh** 231 (defective).

English translation: *A narrative of the transactions in Bengal, during the Soobahdaries of Azeem us Shan, Jaffer Khan, Shuja Khan, Sirafraz Khan and Alyviridy Khan. Translated . . . by F. Gladwin. Calcutta 1788*<sup>o\*</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

[*Shigārf-nāmah i Wilāyat*, tr. Alexander, p. 3.]

959. No. 618 in vol. i of his *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale* is described by Blochet as

*Téhevour nāma. Histoire du Bengale sous le gouvernement de Mir Mohammed Djafer Téhevour.*

Blochet adds "L'auteur de cette histoire ne se nomme pas et le titre n'est donné qu'aux folios 6 v°, 7 r°; Téhevour fut gouverneur du Bengale sous le règne du sultan Mohammed Shah, vers 1144." There seems to be some mistake here. Mu'taman al-Mulk 'Alā' al-Daulah Ja'far Khān Bahādur Asad-Jang, previously entitled Murshid-Qulī Khān, who became *Dīwān* of Bengal in Muḥammad Shāh's reign and *Ṣūbah-dār* in that of Farrukh-siyar and who died in 1138/1725-6 (see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 751-2), was the son of a Hindu and had no claim to the title Mīr. If Blochet is right in prefixing the title Mīr to M. Ja'far's name, the person referred to in the *Tahawwur-nāmah* (if that is really its title) is doubtless the well-known Mīr M. Ja'far Khān, who was *Nāẓim* of Bengal from 1757 to 1759 and again from 1763 to 1765. It may be surmised that the title *Tahawwur-nāmah* is an allusion to Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal 1760-4, whose titles were Naṣīr al-Mulk Shams al-Daulah Tahawwur-Jang.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately Blochet does not quote the opening words of the MSS. which he describes, and

<sup>1</sup> In the B.M. catalogue this translation is entered under 'Azīm ul-Shān and in the I.O. catalogue under *Narrative of the Events* [sic].

<sup>2</sup> Neither the earlier nor the later Ja'far Khān seems to have borne the title Tahawwur-Jang.



therefore it is not possible to tell from his catalogue whether the *Tahawwur-nāmah* is identical with one of the histories described in other catalogues.

*Tahawwur-nāmah* : Blochet i 618 (A.H. 1187/1773).

960. Yūsuf 'Alī Khān b. Ghulām-'Alī Khān has already been mentioned (pp. 139-40 *supra*) as the author of the *Hadīqat al-ṣafā'*. The authority for ascribing to him the *Tārīkh i Mahābat-Jang*, in which the author's name is not mentioned, is the Rev. J. H. Hindley (see Rieu i 312a, ii 806a).

(*Tārīkh i Mahābat-Jang*) or (*Tārīkh i 'Alī-Wirdī Khān*), a history of 'Alī-Wirdī Khān Mahābat-Jang, *Nāẓim* of Bengal (d. 1169/1756), and his successor Sirāj al-Daulah (d. 1170/1757), completed at Allahabad in 1177/1763-4 : Rieu i 312a (defective. 18th cent.), 312a (ending with Rām Narāyan's appointment as *Nā'ib* of Bihār. A.H. 1198/1788), 312b (ending at the same point. 18th cent.), iii 965a (ending shortly before the same point. 18th cent.), 1039a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1054b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), Ivanow 205 (ending with Rām Narāyan's appointment. 19th cent.), I.O. 4025 (transcribed (probably in 1903) from Ivanow 205), Browne Suppt. 251 (n.d. King's 111), Bodleian 279 (ending with Rām Narāyan's appointment), Edinburgh 232.

English translation : *Ferishta's History of Dekkan . . . and the history of Bengal, from the accession of Aliverdee Khan to the year 1780* [translated as far as the death of 'Alī-Wirdī Khān "from a Persian manuscript", identifiable with the *Tārīkh i Mahābat-Jang*] . . . By Jonathan Scott, Shrewsbury 1794<sup>o\*</sup>, vol. ii pp. 313-58.

961. "Musāfir," an enthusiastic supporter of the British, was with the Marāṭ'hā army at Benares and subsequently at Allahabad.

*Fath-nāmah*, composed A.H. 1180/1766-7,<sup>1</sup> a *mathnawī* on the British wars in Bengal from the first year of 'Ālamgīr II

<sup>1</sup> The author states that he had previously composed a similar account in Hindī.



(A.D. 1754) to the peace with Shāh-‘Ālam and the grant of the *dīwānī* of Bengal to the E.I.Co. (A.D. 1765): **Rieu** ii 717a (circ. A.H. 1180/1766-7).

962. **Karam-‘Ali**, a member of the family of the *Nāzims* of Bengal, who was in the service of Nawwāb S. M. Ridā Khān Muzaffar-Jang, wrote his *Muzaffar-nāmah* in 1186/1772-3.

*Muzaffar-nāmah*, a history of the *Nāzims* of Bengal from the rise of Nawwāb ‘Alī-Wirdī Khān (d. 1169/1756) to the arrest of Muzaffar-Jang in 1186/1772: **Rieu** i 313a (A.H. 1188/1774), **I.O.** 4075 (18th cent.), **Ethé** 479 (n.d.), **Bānkipūr** vii 609 (19th cent.).

963. **Ghulām-Husain** “Salīm” **Zaidpūrī** migrated from Zaidpūr (near Bārah Bankī, in Oudh) to Māldah in Bengal and became *Dāk Munshī*, or Postmaster, there under George Udny, at whose request he wrote the *Riyād al-salātīn*. He died in 1233/1817-18.

*Riyād al-salātīn* (a chronogram = 1202/1787-8, the date of completion), a history of Bengal divided into a *muqaddimah* (on geography and the early rājahs) and four *raudahs* ((1) the viceroys of the Sultāns of Delhi, (2) the independent kings, (3) the *Nāzims* under the Tīmūrīds, (4) the British): **Oxford** Ind. Inst. MS. Pers. A iv 28 (not later than A.D. 1805), **Ivanow** 206 (A.H. 1267/1851), 207 (A.D. 1870), **Rieu** iii 965b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Būhār** 82 (A.D. 1874), **Berlin** 497.

Edition: *The Riyāzu-s-salātīn . . . edited by Moulavi Abdul Hak Abid*, **Calcutta** 1890-1°\* (*Bibliotheca Indica*. No index).

Translation: *The Riyāzu-s-salātīn . . . translated . . . , with notes, by Maulavī Abdus Salam*, **Calcutta** 1902-4°\* (*Bibliotheca Indica*. With index).

[Ilāhī Bakḥsh *Khurshīd i jahān-numā* (J.A.S.B. vol. lxiv (1895), pt. 1, pp. 196, 198, cf. *Riyād al-salātīn*, trans. p. 2, n. 4); *Ency. Isl.* under Ghulām Husain.]

964. An anonymous author completed on 9 Dhū ’l-Hijjah 1206 30 July 1792



*Akḥbār al-ṣidq* (beg. *Ḥamd u sipās i bī-qiyās mar Dāwarī-rā kih aḥkam al-ḥākimīn ast*), a history of Bengal under British rule : **Berlin** 520.

965. An eye-witness wrote

*An account of the death of Nawwāb Muẓaffar-Jang* (i.e. M. Riḍā Khān) in 1206/1791-2 and the events which succeeded it : **Berlin** 13 (3).

966. S. Nadhr-ʿAlī b. S. Farzand i ʿAlī b. S. Hidāyat Allāh Jāʿisī completed his *Sawāniḥ i gharāʾib* in 1213/1798-9. His father was in the service of Nawwāb Sarfarāz Khān [*Nāẓim* of Bengal from 1151/1739 to 1153/1740], apparently as a military officer. In the *Sawāniḥ i gharāʾib* (fol. 12a) it is stated that Mīr Farzand i ʿAlī obtained leave from Sarfarāz Khān and returned home [i.e. to Jāʿis, a place which is praised in the preface] with his son [presumably S. Nadhr-ʿAlī] after an absence of twenty years.

*Sawāniḥ i gharāʾib*, a short history of the Nawwābs of Bengal (and of contemporary events in the *ṣūbahs* of Allahabad and Oudh) from the time of M. Jaʿfar Khān to the death of Shujāʿ al-Daulah of Oudh [in 1188/1775] : **I.O.** 3977 (circ. A.D. 1892).

967. Intizām al-Mulk Mumtāz al-Daulah Mahā-rājah **Kalyān Singʿh** Bahādur Tahawwur-Jang b. Mumtāz al-Mulk Mahā-rājah **Shitāb Rāy** Bahādur Manṣūr-Jang succeeded his father<sup>1</sup> as *Nāʾib-Nāẓim* of Bihār in 1187/1773. Unlike his father, of whom Captain Randfurlie Knox said "This is a real Nawab; I never saw such a Nawab in my life",<sup>2</sup> he was a man of no great ability and is described in the *Siyar al-mutaʾakhkhirīn* (ii 810<sup>5</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> For whom see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 347, *Siyar al-mutaʾakhkhirīn*, Lucknow 1866, ii pp. 791-6 (Raymond's trans., reprint Calcutta 1926, iii pp. 49-67, ending with some sentences absent from the published text of the Persian original), and many other passages (for which see the indexes to the [1902-3] and 1926 reprints of Raymond's translation); V. A. Smith *The Oxford history of India*, 1920, pp. 503, 513, 514: and almost all works dealing with the history of Bihār and Bengal at this period.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by V. A. Smith, *Oxford history of India*, p. 514, from the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* iii 127.



Raymond's trans. reprint 1926, iii p. 109) as a mere cipher in the Council at 'Azīmābād.

"In the Faṣlī year 1188 (A.D. 1781), during the administration of Warren Hastings, Kalyān Singh was taxed thirty-four lakhs of rupees as the revenue of Bihār, which he had to pay out of his own private means, owing to a deficit caused by the revolt of Chait Singh, Rājah of Banāras, and certain obstinate landholders of Bihār. Thus ruined, he repaired to Calcutta in Faṣlī 1195,<sup>1</sup> and lived there for twenty-four years, enjoying the warm favour of the English officials. In Faṣlī 1217<sup>2</sup> he fell ill, and after an illness of ten months, which ended in the loss of his eyesight, he left for Patna in Faṣlī 1218.<sup>3</sup> He found his beautiful houses and gardens there in a ruinous condition, and so took up his residence in the Pathrī Garden, near Bānkīpūr, which he took on hire. He bitterly complains of the unkind treatment he received at the hands of his fellow citizens. He was still suffering from various diseases, and had made up his mind to return to Calcutta, when he heard of Mr. Abraham Welland's arrival. He paid a visit to Mr. Welland, who subsequently, through the author's son, Mahārājah Kunwar Daulat Singh Bahādur Dilīr Jang, asked him to write a detailed account of Nawwāb Mir Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, Nāẓim of Bengal. With this request he immediately complied . . . He tells us that because of his blindness he could make no use of his memoranda, or of other historical sources, but had to depend on his own recollections" (quoted from Abdul Muqtadir's summary of the autobiographical part of the preface to the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*).

He wrote poetry both in Persian and Urdu, using the *takhalluṣ* "‘Āshiq" (Sprenger p. 205, on the authority of the *Tadhkirah i Shōrish* and "Sarwar's" *Umḍah i muntakhabah*). In 1211/1796 he completed an unimportant compendium of geography entitled *‘Ajāib al-buldān* (MS. : Berlin 356).

<sup>1</sup> i.e. A.D. 1789-90. Presumably this was on his deposition from the *Niyābat*, for which event a different, and apparently incorrect, date, A.H. 1198 = Faṣlī 1193 [sic] is given below (p. 721, l. 9).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. A.D. 1810-11.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. A.D. 1811-12.



(1) '*Ajā'ib al-wāridāt*, memoirs of the author and his father, completed at Calcutta in 1205/1791 and divided into a *muqaddimah* and four *bābs* : **Berlin** 523 (autograph ?).

(2) *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, a history of the Indian *Timūrids* to A.H. 1227/1812 (the date of completion) followed by (*Bāb* ii, or *Wāridāt i Qāsimī*, as it is called in some MSS.) a detailed account of events in Bengal and Bihār from Mīr M. Qāsim's accession to the *Nizāmat* in 1174/1760 to the time of the author's deposition from the *Niyābat* of Bihār " in A.H. 1198 = A.D. 1783 " (so Abdul Muqtadir, while Rieu says " the Faṣlī year 1193, A.H. 1198 " <sup>1</sup>), when he was called to Calcutta : **Rieu** i 283b (*Bāb* i only. Circ. A.H. 1227/1812), 313b (*Bāb* ii only, with the title *Wāridāt i Qāsimī*. 'Azīmābād, A.H. 1227/1812), iii 925b (*Bābs* i-ii. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Bānkīpūr** vii 594 (*Bābs* i-ii. A.D. 1906).

English translation : *Translation of Maharajah Kalyan Singh's Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh by Sarfaraz Hussain Khan* (in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. v (1919), pp. 218-35, 344-63, vol. vi (1920), pp. 124-49, 302-17, 424-42.

[Autobiographical statements in the preface to the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* (summarised in Rieu i pp. 283b-284a and **Bānkīpūr** vii pp. 110-11); *Siyar al-muta'akhkhirīn*, Lucknow 1866, ii pp. 810<sup>4-6</sup>, 14-21 (Raymond's trans., 1926, iii pp. 109-11); Sprenger p. 205; Nizāmī Badāyūnī *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (in Urdu) ii p. 155].

968. S. 'Alī b. Tufail 'Alī **Khān** b. Mubārīz al-Mulk Iḥtishām al-Daulah **Bilgrāmī** dedicated his *Tārīkh i Manṣūrī* to the Nawwāb Nāẓim Farīdūn-Jāh S. Manṣūr 'Alī **Khān** Bahādur Nuṣrat-Jang (Nawwāb of Murshidābād from 1838 to 1881) sometime between 1264/1848 (a date mentioned in the work) and 1270/1854, the date of the R.A.S. MS.

*Tārīkh i Manṣūrī*, a history of Bengal containing little that is new apart from " some original matter obtained from the inhabitants of Murshidābād " (Blochmann), the last chapters being devoted to the Nawwāb Nāẓims, their children and

<sup>1</sup> The Faṣlī year 1193 corresponds to A.H. 1201-2, the Hijrī year 1198 to Faṣlī 1189-90. Presumably the correct date is Faṣlī 1195, which has been mentioned above as the year in which " he repaired to Calcutta ".



servants and their buildings : **R.A.S.** P. 93A (A.H. 1270/1854), **Ivanow** 191 (A.D. 1867, copied from the preceding, much decayed), 192 (recent copy of the decayed portions of 191).

Description and extracts with translations : *Notes on Sirāj-uddaulah and the town of Murshidābād, taken from a Persian Manuscript of the Tārīkh i Mançūrī. By H. Blochmann* (J.A.S.B. vol. xxxvi, pt. 1 (1867-8), pp. 85-104).

969. For extracts relating to Bengal from the *Khawurshīd i jahān-numā* of S. Ilāhī Bakhsh Husainī Angrēzābādī see p. 152 *supra*.

970. Khān Bahādur Khundkār **Faḍl i Rabbī** was born at Sālār (Parganah Fatehsing, District Murshidābād) on 13 August 1848. His father, Maulawī ‘Ubaid al-Akbar, was *Mīr Munshī* to the last Nawwāb-Nāẓim of Bengal, Mansūr ‘Alī Khān Faridūn-Jāh. From November 1869 to 1874 Faḍl i Rabbī was in England as “correspondence clerk and officer in charge of the household” to the Nawwāb Nāẓim, who had gone there to represent his grievances to the House of Commons and who continued to live there until 1881. On his return to India in 1874 Faḍl i Rabbī was made *Amīn i mahallāt* (Manager of estates) by the Nawwāb Nāẓim’s son, S. Ḥasan ‘Alī (who was created Nawwāb Bahādur of Murshidābād in February 1882, the title of Nawwāb Nāẓim of Bengal having become extinct in November 1880 when Mansūr ‘Alī Khān resigned the position). Subsequently he became *Nā’ib-Dīwān* and in 1881 *Dīwān* of Murshidābād. In 1896 the title of Khān Bahādur was conferred on him. His name appears in the list of Honorary Magistrates at Murshidābād in *Thacker’s Indian Directory* for 1916 (the last year in which such a list is given).

An Urdu work of his, *Tasḍīq al-nihād*, an account of the Khondkārs of Murshidābād, the old Muslim family to which he belonged, was published at Āgrah in 1897°.

*Ḥaqīqat i Musalmān i Bangālah* (in Persian<sup>1</sup> or in Urdu ?) : no copies traced.

<sup>1</sup> It is included here as a Persian work on the authority of the British Museum catalogue, but nothing is said in the translation about the language of the original.



English translation : *The origin of the Musalmans of Bengal : being a translation of "Haqiqate Musalman-i-Bengalah"*. By *Khondkar Fuzli Rubbee*. Calcutta 1895<sup>o\*</sup>.

[Major J. H. T. Walsh *A history of Murshidabad District*, London 1902, pp. 249-53 (portrait facing p. 250) ; Prag Narain Bhargava *Who's who in India*, Lucknow 1911, pt. viii p. 105.]

971. Of unknown authorship is

*Tārīkh i Jahāngīrnagar*, a short (20 foll.) history of Dacca from Akbar's conquest to the *Nizāmat* of Ḥusain al-Dīn Khān about the beginning of Shāh-Ālam's reign : **Edinburgh** 233 (n.d.).

972. S. 'Alī Ḥusainī Qazwīnī, or, to give him his full titles, **Nawwāb** Intizām al-Daulah Naṣīr al-Mulk S. 'Alī Khān Bahādur **Nuṣrat-Jang**, became *Ṣūbah-dār* (or *Nawwāb*) of Dacca in 1200/1785-6 and died at the age of sixty-three on 1 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1237/20 July 1822.

*Tārīkh i Nuṣrat-Jangī*,<sup>1</sup> a very brief history of Bengal and especially of Dacca from Akbar's conquest to A.H. 1200/1785-6 : **Ivanow** 208 (not later than 1817), **Gotha** Arab Cat. v p. 497 no. 30\*.

Edition<sup>2</sup> : *Tārīkh-i-Nuṣratjangī*. [Edited] by *Harinath De*. (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ii, no. 6, pp. 121-53 (**Calcutta** 1908<sup>o\*</sup>)).

973. At the request of Major William Francklin **Shyām Parshād** Munshī compiled in November and December 1810 his

*Khulāṣah i ahwāl i Gaurh u jā i dīgar* (for other forms of the title see *Ethé*), a topography and history of the fortress

<sup>1</sup> Blochmann described the work as "good-for-nothing", but Harinath De disagrees.

<sup>2</sup> This edition, based on the A.S.B. MS. and on two MSS. in private possession, contains a continuation to A.D. 1843, the date of the death of Nawwāb Ghāzī al-Dīn Muḥammad, the last Nawwāb of Jasārat Khān's line, by S. 'Abd al-Ghānī, known as ('urf) Ḥamīd Mīr, b. S. M. Ḥusain Khān Ḥusainī, a son of Nuṣrat-Jang's 'Arḍ-bēgī.



of Gaur (for which see *Ency. Isl.* etc.) and the township of Panduah : **Ethé** 2841.

974. **Ghulām-Hasan Zaidi** Jaunpūrī, fl. circ. A.D. 1805, has already been mentioned (p. 699 *supra*) as the author of a short historical account of Jaunpūr.

*A short account of Calcutta*, its climate, topography etc. : **Browne** Pers. Cat. 108 ii.

975. Nawwāb-Zādah S. **Ashraf al-Dīn Aḥmad** b. Nawwāb Wazīr al-Sultān Fakhr al-Mulk S. M. Amīr 'Alī **Khān**<sup>1</sup> Bahādur, seventh Mutawallī of the Imāmbārah at Hoogli (appointed 1875) and author of several works including the *Nau ratan*, an anthology of Persian poetry (Lucknow [1883°]), was born in 1855 and educated at the Calcutta Madrasah and the Doveton College, Calcutta. He was a Fellow of the Calcutta University and a Trustee of the Aligarh College. In 1893 he received the title of **Khān Bahādur**.

*Tabaqāt i Muḥsinīyah*<sup>2</sup> (on English title-page *Tabaqa-i-Muhsinya or the Persian History of the Hooghly Emambarah*), on the history of the Hooghly Imāmbārah and the lives of its chief benefactors and custodians (the author p. 38, 57 foll.).

[Prag Narain Bhargava *Who's who in India*, Lucknow 1911, pt. viii, p. 104; C. Hayavadana Rao *Indian biographical dictionary*, Madras 1915, p. 14.]

976. Other works :

(1) Account of the war of the East India Co. with Mīr Qāsim **Khān** (beginning *Az jumlah i būqalamūnī i rūzgār* and apparently taken mostly from the *Siyar al-muta'akḥkhirīn*) : **Bodleian** 280.

(2) Fragment giving a review of the Governors of Bengal

<sup>1</sup> For S. Amīr 'Alī **Khān** see p. 648 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Hājī M. Muḥsin, who died on 24 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1227/1812, was a merchant of Hoogli noted for his charitable benefactions. See *Life of Haji Muhammed Mohsin by Mahendra Chandra Mitra*, Calcutta 1880, *The modern history of the Indian chiefs, rajas, zamindars etc.* by Loke Nath Ghose, pt. ii, Calcutta 1881, pp. 304-9 and *Ency. Isl.* under Muḥammad Muḥsin, where further references are given.



from the time of Jahāngīr (A.D. 1605) to that of Farrukh-siyar (A.D. 1719) : **Bodleian** 278.

(3) Notes and memoranda relating to the history, administration and revenue of Bengal, written for Col. Sir J. Murray : **Rieu** i 409.

(4) Notice of Manī Bēgam, wife of Mīr Ja'far Khān : **Rieu** i 409b.

(5) Three poems on the wickedness and miserable end of Nand Kumār : **Rieu** ii 797b.

(6) *Waqā'i' i Bangālah* : **Aṣafiyah** i p. 258 no. 342. Cf. *Intikhāb i tarjamah i Waqā'i' i Bangālah*, **Aṣafiyah** i p. 220 no. 755.

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (cc) GUJRĀT

977. An author who does not mention his name but who tells us incidentally in his account of the year 847/1443-4 that he was born on the 18th of Dhū 'l-Hijjah in that year, when his father was taking part in the expedition of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn [Aḥmad] b. Aḥmad Bahmanī against the fort of Mudkal, wrote a history of the Muẓaffarid dynasty which contains no title in the preface but which on the title-page of the India Office manuscript is called with doubtful correctness *Tārīkh i Muẓaffar-Shāhī*.<sup>1</sup>

*Tārīkh i Muẓaffar-Shāhī* [?], a flowery history of the Muẓaffarids to the year 889/1484 or thereabouts written in the

<sup>1</sup> The connexion of the author's father with the Bahmanī court suggested to Rieu the possibility that this work may be identical with "a history of Gujrāt entitled *Maāṣir i Maḥmūdshāhī*, also called *Tārīkh i Maḥmūdshāhī*, the author of which, Mullā 'Abd ul-Karīm Hamadānī, had long been attached to Khwājah Maḥmūd Gāwān, the celebrated minister of the Bahmanīs. . . ." The correctness of that conjecture can neither be proved nor disproved at present. Rieu does not specify the source of his information concerning 'Abd al-Karīm Hamadānī and his *Ma'āthir i Maḥmūd-Shāhī*. 'Abd al-Karīm's life of Maḥmūd i Gāwān is summarised by Firishtah at the end of his account of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī. A general history entitled *al-Tabaqā al-Maḥmūd-Shāhīyah* by 'Abd al-Karīm b. M. al-Namīdihī [? *Nisbah* doubtful] has already been mentioned (p. 109 *supra*).



reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Bēgarah and beginning with the words *Bar wāqif i hūshmand*: **Rieu** iii 966a (about half of the work, corresponding to foll. 1-107a in the I.O. MS. 17th cent.), **I.O.** 3842 (A.H. 1299/1881-2).

978. For the general history *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Maḥmūd-Shāhīyah*, which contains much information about Gujrāt to the year 905/1499-1500, see p. 109 *supra*.

979. A work entitled *Ma'āthir i Maḥmūd-Shāhī* was written by a certain 'Abd al-Khāliq BRḤĀM[?]Ī YWNĪ (Pūnī?), known as (*al-ma'rūf bi*) Sar-birahnah, who died in 895/1489-90 [according to 'Abd al-Karīm al-Namīdīhī (?) *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Maḥmūd-Shāhīyah* (Eton 160. Cf. p. 109 *supra*), under the year mentioned]. According to Rieu, who does not specify his authority, "a history of Gujrāt entitled *Maāṣir i Maḥmūdshāhī*, also called *Tārīkh i Maḥmūdshāhī*" was written by 'Abd al-Karīm Hamadānī, who "had long been attached to Khwājah Maḥmūd Gāvān, the celebrated minister of the Bahmanīs" and who wrote a life of Maḥmūd i Gāvān which *Firishtah* summarises at the end of his account of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī. A supplement to one of these works, probably the first, or possibly to yet another work of the same title, was written by order of Maḥmūd Shāh Bēgarah by an author whose preface contains neither his own name nor the title of his work.

(*Damīmah i Ma'āthir i Maḥmūd-Shāhī*),<sup>1</sup> a flowery history of the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bēgarah from the time when he despatched an army against Bahādur Gīlānī [in 896/1490-1 according to the *Zafar al-wāliḥ* i p. 169] to the surrender of Asīr Fort by Yūsuf Ḥāfiẓ to A'zam Humāyūn [in 916/1511 according to the *Zafar al-wāliḥ* i p. 59], written by order of Maḥmūd Shāh as a supplement to the *Ma'āthir i Maḥmūd-Shāhī* of an unspecified author and beginning *Ba-nām i shāhan-shāh i mulk i qidam*: **I.O.** 3841 (apparently only the first of the two *maqālahs* ((1) on Maḥmūd Shāh, (2) on his contemporaries) mentioned in the preface. A.H. 1299/1882).

<sup>1</sup> On the title-page of the I.O. manuscript the work is called *Tārīkh i Maḥmūd-Shāhī*, which may possibly be the correct title.



980. It was by order of Abū 'l-Naṣr Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh II that a certain "Qānī'i" wrote

*Tārīkh i Muẓaffar-Shāhī* [?],<sup>1</sup> an account, in prose interspersed with many verses, of the capture of Shādī-ābād (Māndū) in 942/1518 : *Rieu* i 287a (A.H. 1223/1808), *I.O.* 4521 (A.H. 1267/1851).

981. A certain "Muṭī'i" completed A.H. 941/1534-5 and dedicated to Bahādur Shāh

*Ganj i ma'ānī*, a *mathnawī* on Bahādur Shāh's victories : *Ivanow* Curzon 251 (16th cent.).

982. Mīr (or Shāh) **Abū Turāb Walī** b. Shāh Quṭb al-Dīn Shukr Allāh, or Shāh Abū Turāb al-'Uraidī al-Ḥusainī, as he is called in the *Zafar al-wālih* (p. 548<sup>18</sup>), was a Shīrāzī (Salāmī) Saiyid, whose grandfather had migrated from Shīrāz and in 898/1492-3 had settled in Chānpānēr. In 974/1566-7 Mīr Abū Turāb was evidently an employee or a supporter of the Gujrātī noble Chingiz Khān who sent him to negotiate with I'timād Khān. Chingiz Khān was murdered in Ṣafar 975/1569, and in 980/1572-3, when Akbar first entered Gujrāt, Mīr Abū Turāb was sent by I'timād Khān to the Emperor with a letter inviting him to take the country. He accompanied Akbar on his progress through Gujrāt and received various marks of the royal favour. In 985/1577 Akbar appointed him *Mīr i Ḥājj*, and on his return in 987/1579 he brought with him to Āgrah a large stone bearing the impression of the Prophet's foot (*qadam i Rasūl*). In 988/1580 he received permission to take this stone to Gujrāt and he erected it at Asāwal near Aḥmadābād. In 992/1583 I'timād Khān was appointed Governor of Gujrāt, and Shāh Abū Turāb *Amīn i ṣūbah*. He died on 13 Jumādā i A.H. 1003/1595 and was buried at Asāwal.

*Tārīkh i Gujrāt*, a history of Gujrāt from the reign of Bahādur Shāh (A.H. 932/1526-943/1536) to the taking of Aḥmad-ābād by Muẓaffar Shāh III in 992/1584 : *Rieu* iii 967 (A.H. 1151/1738-9).

<sup>1</sup> This title, of doubtful genuineness, occurs not in the work itself but in the copyist's colophon and on the title-page of the *I.O.* MS.



Edition: *A history of Gujarat. By Mīr Abū Turāb Valī. Edited with introduction and notes by E. Denison Ross. Calcutta 1909*\* (Bibliotheca Indica).

[Autobiographical statements in the *Tārīkh i Gujrāt* (for these see Rieu iii 967 and Ross's introduction to his edition and his summary of contents); *Akbar-nāmah* i p. 146, iii pp. 217, 281, 318, 403, 411, 454 and doubtless elsewhere (see the index to Beveridge's translation of this volume, when it appears); *Zafar al-wālih bi-Muzaffar wa-ālih* (in Arabic) pp. 499<sup>22</sup>, 504<sup>6</sup>, 506<sup>8</sup>, 507<sup>4</sup>, 548<sup>18</sup>, 567<sup>18</sup>, 603<sup>5</sup>, 606<sup>5</sup>, 20-21; *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī, khātimah* (Baroda 1930) p. 64, English trans. (Baroda 1928) p. 57; *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* iii pp. 280-5, Beveridge's translation pp. 142-4 (summarised by Blochmann in his translation of the *Ā'in i Akbarī* pp. 506-7); Rieu iii 967.]

983. **Sikandar** b. M. **Manjhū**<sup>1</sup> b. Akbar served under the *Khān i A'zam* (Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōkah, Governor of Gujrāt) in the campaign which ended with the capture and death of Muzaffar Shāh III, the dethroned king of Gujrāt, in 1000/1591.

In 1026/1617 he was visited at Aḥmadābād by Jahāngīr, who mentions him in his *Memoirs* (tr. Rogers and Beveridge i 427) as a man well acquainted with the history of Gujrāt, who had been for eight or nine years in the Imperial service.

*Mir'āt i Sikandarī*, completed A.H. 1020/1611 or 1022/1613 (see Bodleian 273), a history of Gujrāt from the time of Zafar Khān (Muzaffar Shāh I) to the death of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh III in 1000/1591: **Bloch** i 624 (A.H. 1022/1613 (?)), 622 (A.H. 1238/1822), 623 (late 18th cent.), **Ivanow** 195 (A.H. 1038/1628-9), **Rieu** i 287b (A.H. 1042/1632), 288a (A.H. 1162/1749), 288b (A.H. 1196/1782), 288b (18th cent.), 288b (A.H. 1211/1797), **Berlin** 509 (n.d.), 510 (A.H. 1046/1637), **Bodleian** 272 (A.H. 1046/1637), 273 (A.H. 1056/1647), 274 (A.H. 1079/1668), 275 (A.H. 1139/1726), **Ethé** 438 (bears a seal dated A.H. 1056/1646), 439 (A.H. 1046/1637), 440 (A.H. 1072/1662), 441-3 (of which 442 is dated

<sup>1</sup> M. 'urf Manjhū, as the MSS. have it, or Miyān Manjhū, was steward of the estate of Saiyid Bukhārī's descendants (see Rieu iii 1084b ad p. 287b). Some of the MSS. omit the *ibn* before Akbar.



A.H. 1049/1639), ii 3015 (old), I.O. 3844 (probably circ. A.D. 1882), **Ross and Browne** 8 (17th cent.), **Lindesiana** p. 157 no. 900 (A.H. 1094/1683), **Morley** 69 (A.H. 1196/1781), **Eton** 177 (A.H. 1200/1785-6), **Rehatsek** p. 76 no. 13 (A.H. 1213/1798-9), **Bāṅkipūr** vii 610 (18th cent.), **Bombay Fyzee** 8 (A.D. 1849), 9 (not old), **Salemann-Rosen** p. 18 no. 141.

Editions : **Bombay** 1831<sup>o\*</sup>, 1890<sup>o\*</sup>.

English translation : *Mirati Sikandari, or The Mirror of Sikandar . . . Translated by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi*. [**Bombay** 1899<sup>o\*</sup>.]

Cf. : *The history of India as told by its own historians. The local Muhammadan dynasties. Gujarat. By . . . Sir E. C. Bayley . . . Partially based on a [nearly complete] translation [of the Mir'āt i Sikandari] by . . . J. Dowson. . . . Forming a sequel to Sir H. M. Elliot's History of the Muhammadan Empire of India. London 1886<sup>o\*</sup>.*

984. Mirzā M. Ḥasan b. M. 'Alī was eight or nine years old in 1120/1708, when he went to Gujrāt from Burhānpūr (*Mir'āt i Aḥmadī* i p. 13<sup>4-5</sup>), his father having been appointed *Waqā'i-nigār* of the *jāgīr* of Prince M. Jahāndār Shāh in the *ṣūbah* of Aḥmadābād (*M. i A.* i p. 383<sup>14-15</sup>). On his father's death in 1157/1744 he succeeded by royal decree to his father's *manṣab*, his office (*Amīn* or Superintendent of the Cloth Market), his title ('**Alī Muḥammad Khān**) and his *jāgīr* (*M. i A.* ii p. 326<sup>6-7</sup>). In 1159/1746 he was appointed *Dīwān* of Gujrāt (*M. i A.* ii p. 340), and in 1163/1750 the title of Bahādur was conferred upon him (*M. i A.* ii p. 395<sup>17</sup>).

*Mir'āt i Aḥmadī*, as it is usually called, or *Mir'āt i Aḥmadī i ṣūbah i Aḥmadābād Gujrāt*, as the author called it, begun in 1170/1756-7 and completed in Ṣafar 1175/September 1761, a history of Gujrāt from the earliest times to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī's victory over the Marāṭ'hās at Pānīpat in 1174/1761 with a *khātimah* containing a description of Aḥmadābād, lives of the saints and saiyids buried there, accounts of its inhabitants, Hindu tribes and temples, measures, weights etc., *t'hānahs*, officials and their duties, districts and *parganahs* of Gujrāt,



its ports, rivers, mountains and sights : **Ethé** ii 3016 (A.H. 1175/1761, transcribed by the author's grandson,<sup>1</sup> except possibly the *khātimah*, though that "seems to be written by the same hand"), **Ethé** 444 (A.H. 1199/1785), **I.O.** 3843 (A.H. 1299/1882), **Lindesiana** p. 122 nos. 901-2 (A.H. 1195/1780), **Bānkipūr** vii 611 (A.H. 1199/1785), **Rieu** i 288b (A.H. 1202/1788), 289b (breaking off in Aurangzēb's 13th year. 18th cent.), 289b (an abridgment. A.D. 1808), **Leyden** iii p. 13 no. 925 (A.H. 1202/1787), **R.A.S.** P. 82-4 = Morley 70-2 (A.H. 1238/1822-3), P. 85 = Morley 73 (detached portions), **Bombay Univ.** p. 263 (*Sambat* 1881), **Bombay Fyzee** 7 (A.D. 1849).

Editions : (1) **Bombay** 1306-7/1888-89<sup>o\*</sup>,<sup>2</sup> (2) *Mirat-i-Ahmadi . . . by Ali Muhammad Khan. Edited by Syed Nawab Ali . . .* **Baroda** 1927-8\* (2 vols. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 33 and 34), *Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Supplement (Persian text) . . . critically edited . . . by Syed Nawab Ali . . .* **Baroda** 1930\* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 50). Cf. also p. 656 n. 2.

MS. English translation made in 1878-86 by Lt.-Col. J. W. Watson : **Ethé** ii 3016, inserted leaves.

English translation of the history down to Akbar's invasion, i.e. about one-sixth of the whole work : *The political and statistical history of Gujarāt, translated from the Persian of Ali Mohammed Khān . . . to which are added . . . annotations and . . . introduction. By J. Bird.* **London** 1835<sup>o\*</sup> (Oriental Translation Fund).

English translation of the *Khātimah* : *The Supplement to the Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Translated . . . by Syed Nawab Ali . . . and C. N. Seddon . . .* **Baroda** (Bombay printed) 1924\* (Education

<sup>1</sup> A MS. written in 1176/1761 by a certain M. Mukarram and bearing on the title-page an impression of the author's seal and his autograph note of ownership is, or was, preserved at Cambay (see *Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Supplement. Translated . . . by S. Nawab Ali . . . and C. N. Seddon*, foreword, p. xiii n., where the library or person owning the MS. is not specified). A reproduction of the title-page of that MS. forms the frontispiece of the Baroda edition of the Persian text.

<sup>2</sup> According to Jadunath Sarkar's foreword to pt. ii of the Baroda edition "This edition contains only the first volume down to A.D. 1714 (or about one-half of it) together with the second volume. . . . The text as printed here is hopelessly corrupt, with frequent lacunæ. . . ."



Department); *Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Supplement. Translated . . . by Syed Nawab Ali . . . and C. N. Seddon . . . Re-issue—corrected. Baroda* (Calcutta printed) 1928\* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, 43).

Translations of extracts : *The history of India as told by its own historians. The local Muhammadan dynasties. Gujarat. By . . . Sir Edward Clive Bayley . . . Partially based on a translation [of parts of the *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* and the *Mir'āt i Ahmadi*] by . . . J. Dowson. . . . Forming a sequel to Sir H. M. Elliot's *History of the Muhammadan Empire of India. London 1886*\*.*

For an Urdu translation and two incomplete Gujrātī translations see Bombay Univ. p. 264.

[Autobiographical statements in the *Mir'āt i Ahmadi* (two or three of these in Rieu i 289 and in the foreword to the English translation of the *Khātimah*); Rieu i 289.]

985. **Ranchhōr-jī**, a son of the celebrated *Dīwān* Amar-jī of Jūnāgarh, was born in Samwat 1824 Vikramī/A.D. 1767. Most of his life was devoted to the service of the Nawwābs of Jūnāgarh as was that of his father Amar-jī and that of his elder brother Raghunāth-jī, who was likewise *Dīwān*, and who died in 1819. Like them he played a prominent part in the incessant warfare between Jūnāgarh and the neighbouring states. According to James Burgess Ranchhōr-jī was in his turn *Dīwān* of Jūnāgarh, but this does not seem to be expressly stated in the *Waqā'i' i Sōrat'h*.

*Tārīkh i Sōrat'h* or *Waqā'i' i Sōrat'h*, a history of Sōrat'h<sup>1</sup> or Saurāshtrā, especially of Jūnāgarh and Nawanagar, in the author's time with a sketch of its earlier history, completed (according to the Edinburgh Univ. catalogue) in Jēṭh of Samwat 1886/16 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1245/9 June 1830<sup>2</sup>: **Bombay**

<sup>1</sup> Sōrat'h (= Kāt'hiyāwār) is to be distinguished from Sūrat, the name of a port on the other side of the Gulf of Cambay.

<sup>2</sup> This date does not seem to occur in Rehatsek's translation. The date Samwat 1896/A.H. 1256 (= 1840) occurs in an addition (by the author?) which appears on p. 234 of Rehatsek's translation.



Fyzee 11 (autograph ? A.H. 1245/1830 ?), 12 (Samwat 1892/A.D. 1835-6. Fuller than 11 and apparently a revised edition), **Edinburgh** 235 (A.H. 1287/1870), **Rieu** iii 1041a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **I.O.** 4527 (extract relating to Jūnāgarh down to Akbar's conquest. A.D. 1849).

English translation by E. Rehatsek revised by Col. J. W. Watson and edited with an introduction by J. Burgess : *Tārīkh-i-Sorath, a history of the provinces of Sorath and Hālār in Kāthiāwād. By Ranchodji Amarji. . . . Translated from the Persian.* **Bombay** 1882°\*.

MS.Gujarātī translation by Maṇi-shankar Jata-shankar Muja-mundar (see Rehatsek's translation pp. iii, 25).

[Rehatsek's translation pp. iii, 53, 89-91, 137, 164, 173, 175, 178, 189, 190, 193, 197-202, 211, 221-2, 268-9, 276, 290-1, 298 ; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. viii *Kāthiāwār* (Bombay 1884) p. 628 ; H. Wilberforce-Bell *The History of Kathiawad*, London 1916, pp. 147, 156, 160-4, 192, 194.]

986. **Sh. Aḥmad**, alias **Bakhshū Miyān**, b. **Sh. Hāmid** b. **Sh. Bahādur** was *Munṣif* at Sūrat and died in 1265/1848-9. He wrote a historical work entitled *Ḥadīqah i Aḥmadī* in three volumes. He had intended to rewrite this and divide it into fifteen parts, but he died when he had completed only one part, to which he gave the title *Ḥadīqat al-Hind*.

*Ḥadīqat al-Hind* : **Bombay** Fyzee 10 (chapter xii only (on the province of Gujrāt). A.H. 1266/1850).

987. Other works :

(1) *Ḥaqīqat (Ḥaqā'iq, Aḥwāl) i sarkār i Gāyakwār*, a short history of the Gāykwār Mahārājahs of Baroda from their origin to A.D. 1818, by Munshī Sārā-Bhāy : **I.O.** 4525 (A.H. 1269/1853), 4526 (about the first third of the same work. Same hand).

(2) Historical notices of Sūrat and Kēch Makrān : **I.O.** 3817.

(3) *Muntakhab i aḥwālāt i zain al-bilād Aḥmadābād*, a short history of Gujrāt from the time of the Hindu Rājahs



that of Ragunat'h Rāō, when 'Alī M. Khān was *Dīwān* of the province, possibly compiled by the copyist Bāng [?] La'l son Tarang [?] La'l: **I.O.** 4545 (A.D. 1849).

(4) *The Salatin-i-Baroda, being Mr. F. A. H. Elliot's Rulers of Baroda*", rendered into Persian . . . by Maulavi arid ud-Din Ahmad. **Bombay** 1898\*.

(5) (*Tārīkh i Bharōch*), a short history of Broach in the 8th and early 19th centuries, by Nūr al-Dīn b. Qādī S. Aḥmad Iusain Ridawī al-Shīrāzī: **I.O.** 4514.

(6) *Tārīkh i salāṭīn i Gujrāt*, a very brief (21 foll.) chronicle of the rulers of Gujrāt from Sultān Aḥmad Shāh A.H. 813/1410) to A.H. 961/1554, the last date mentioned in the text, or a little later: **Bodleian** 271 (n.d.).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (dd) CUTCH

988. The *Nasab-nāmah i Jārējah* is based on the oral statements of a certain Ūpādyah Kurjī Jādēv Mīr,<sup>1</sup> an inhabitant of Vīrah in the *parganah* of Bhūj. These were written down in P'hāgun 1878/Feb. 1822 and were translated from the Gujrātī into Persian by order of Mr. Walter, Assistant Resident of Cutch.

*Nasab-nāmah i Jārējah*, a history of the ruling tribe of Cutch from its origin to the Hindu year 1875/1819: **Rieu** i 290 (A.H. 1237/1822).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (ee) INDORE

989. It was at the request of Jaswant Rāō Hōlkar's *bakhshī*, Bhawānī Shankar, that **Mōhan Singh** wrote the *Waqā'i' i Hōlkar*, which he completed in 1223/1808.

*Waqā'i' i Hōlkar*, a history of Jaswant Rāō Hōlkar, who succeeded his brother Kāshī Rāō as ruler of Indore, was defeated by Lord Lake in 1804, became insane in 1806 and died in 1811: **Bānkipūr** vii 618 (A.H. 1223/1808, not autograph), **Bodleian** 1970 (not later than A.D. 1812), **I.O.** 3930 (19th cent.).

<sup>1</sup> Vocalisation of these names partly conjectural.



## M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (ff) BHŌPĀL

990. Nawwāb **Shāh-Jahān Bēgam** "**Shirīn**", born on 3 July 1838, was proclaimed ruler of Bhōpāl on 10 Jan. 1847 under the regency of her mother Sikandar Bēgam, the widow of Nawwāb Jahāngīr Muḥammad **Khān**. On 1 May 1860 she abdicated in favour of her mother. On 30 Oct. 1868 Sikandar Bēgam died, and **Shāh-Jahān Bēgam** again became ruler of the State. She died on 16 June 1901 and was succeeded by Sultān-Jahān Bēgam, her only daughter by her first husband, Nawwāb Nazīr al-Daulah Bakhshī Bāqī Muḥammad **Khān**, whom she had married in 1855 and who died in 1867. Her second husband, whom she married in 1871, was Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan **Khān**, who has already been mentioned (pp. 27-8 *supra*).

Her Urdu *dīwān* (*Dīwān i Shirīn*) was published at Cawnpore in 1872,\* and another Urdu work, *Tahdhīb al-niswān*, at Delhi in 1889\*.

*Tāj al-iqbāl tārikh i riyāsāt i Bhōpāl*, a history of Bhōpāl to the year 1289/1872.

Edition: **Cawnpore** 1289-90/1873\*.

Urdu version: **Cawnpore** 1873\*.

English translation (from the Urdu): *The Tāj-ul Ikbāl Tārīkh Bhopal; or the History of Bhopal. By H.H. the Nawab Shahjahan . . . Translated by H. C. Barstow. Calcutta* 1876°\*.

[Autobiographical statements in the *Tāj al-iqbāl*; *Sham' i anjuman* 241-4; Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* pp. 39-40; Sultān-Jahān Bēgam *An account of my life* (tr. Payne, London 1912) *passim*; *Ma'āthir i Ṣiddīqī*, an Urdu biography of Ṣiddīq Ḥasan **Khān** (see pp. 27-8 *supra*) by S. M. 'Alī Ḥasan **Khān**, ii pp. 66-8, 82-105 and elsewhere; Nizāmī Badāyūnī *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (in Urdu) ii pp. 4-5.]

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (gg) MĀLWAH

991. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Kirmānī called **Shihāb i Ḥakīm** was in the service of Maḥmūd-Shāh Sultān **Khaljī** of Mālwah (reigned 29 Shawwāl 839/16 May 1436-19 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 873/31 May 1469), after whose death he wrote at the command of his son



and successor Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn (reigned 873/1469–906/1500) his

*Ma'āthir i Maḥmūd-Shāhī*, a flowery history of Maḥmūd-Shāh with a brief account of his predecessors, especially Sultān Hūshang and Muḥammad-Shāh (Ghaznī Khān): **Berlin** 511 (a seal dated 1182/1768–9), **Browne** Suppt. 249 (A.H. 1199/1785. King's 67), **Bodleian** 270 (slightly defective at beginning. N.d.).

992. Of unknown authorship is

(*Tārīkh i Nāṣir-Shāhī*), a turgid and almost dateless "history" of Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir Shāh b. Ghiyāth Shāh b. Maḥmūd Shāh Khālījī (reigned A.H. 906/1500–916/1510): **Rieu** iii 968a (breaks off in first year of the reign. A.H. 1265/1849), 1040b (extract only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **I.O.** 4032 (A.D. 1879).

993. A *Tārīkh i Mālwa* by Karam-'Alī is mentioned by C. E. Luard as one of the authorities used by him in compiling the Mālwa Gazetteer (Bombay 1908), but no copies of this work seem to be recorded in any published catalogue.

# M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (hh) GWALIOR

994. Sh. Jalāl Ḥiṣārī was secretary to Saiyid Muzaḥḥar Khān Bārhaḥ,<sup>1</sup> surnamed Khān i Jahān, who was Governor of Gwalior from Shāh-Jahān's accession to 1055/1645–6. For his *Wāqī'ah i Jhōjhār Sing'h* see p. 737 *infra*.

*Guzwāliyār-nāmah*, a history of Gwalior to 1055/1645–6 based on a Hindī work by a Brahman named Syām: **Rieu** ii 838a (A.D. 1690).

995. Hirāman b. Gird'har-Dās was *Munshī* to Mu'tamad Khān (Khawājah Nūr), who was Governor (Commandant) of Gwalior from A.H. 1071/1660–1 to 1078/1668.

(*Guzwāliyār-nāmah*), a history of Gwalior to A.H. 1078/1668 based on Jalāl Ḥiṣārī's work: **Rieu** i 303b (A.H. 1080/1669), **Eton** 201.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* i pp. 758–766.



996. "In August 1780 Major Popham most cleverly escalated the strong fortress of Gwālior at night and took it without losing a man" (V. A. Smith *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford 1920, p. 533). It has already been mentioned (p. 520 § 687 *supra*) that Captain W. Bruce was one of the officers who took part in that operation.

(*Aḥwāl i qal'ah i Guwāliyār*), a short history of Gwalior to 1194/1780 written down from the dictation of Mōtī Rām and Khwush-hāl, two inhabitants of Gwalior, by order of Captain William Bruce: **Rieu** i 304b (18th cent.), 304b (19th cent.), **Ethé** 499.

997. **Khair al-Dīn M. Ilāhābādī** died about 1827 (see pp. 520–2 *supra*). Attached by General Stibbert to the staff of Captain William Bruce, who was in charge of the commissariat of Major Popham's force (cf. p. 736 l. 1 *supra*), he had witnessed the capture of Gwalior in August 1780. In 1206/1791–2 he left Allahabad for Lucknow at the invitation of Āṣaf al-Daulah and while there Dr. Bruce showed him a *Guwāliyār-nāmah*. Finding it defective in matter and badly written, he recast it and enlarged it with an account of the British capture of the fortress, the operations of Colonel Camac against Mahādajī Sīnd'hiyah and the recapture of Gwalior and Gōhad by the latter.

*Guwāliyār-nāmah*, or *Kār-nāmah i Guwāliyār*,<sup>1</sup> a history of Gwalior, and especially of its capture by the British in 1780, to the poisoning of Rānā Chhatar Sing'h in 1200/1785–6, completed in 1208/1793: **Ivanow** Curzon 44 (slightly defective. Early 19th cent.), 43 (A.H. 1268/1852), **Rieu** iii 1028a (circ. A.D. 1850), **I.O.** 3947 (A.D. 1879).

998. It was at the request of Neil Benjamin Edmonstone<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The author refers to his work by these titles near the end of the *Tuhfah i tāzah* (see Bānkīpūr vii 607).

<sup>2</sup> b. 1765, went to Calcutta 1783, for a time Persian translator to Government, Private Secretary to the acting Governor-General 1798, Chief Secretary to Government 1809, Member of the Supreme Council 1812–18, Director of the E.I.Co. 1820, d. 4 May 1841 (see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 132).



that an anonymous author wrote his *Aḥwāl i Mād'haujī Sīnd'hiyah*.

*Aḥwāl i Mād'haujī Sīnd'hiyah*, a life of Mahārājah Mahādajī Sīnd'hiyah (acc. 1769, d. 1794): **Berlin** 515.

999. An anonymous *Guwāliyar-nāmah* is the basis of the *History of the fortress of Gwalior* mentioned below.

*Guwāliyar-nāmah* : no MSS. recorded, unless it is one of the works described above.

English translation : *History of the fortress of Gwalior*. [Translated] by *Shrimant Balwant Row Bhayasaheb, Scindia*. [With a continuation by the translator to his own time.] **Bombay** 1892°\*.

1000. Other works :

(1) *Aḥwāl i Mahārājah Sawā'ī Rānā Chhatar Sing'h . . . Rānā Gōhad*, an account (44 foll.) of events in the years 1777 and 1778 relating mainly to Gōhad, a fort which now forms part of the State of Gwalior but which was then held by a Jāt rānā : **Berlin** 519.

(2) Extracts relating to *Chandērī* and its Mahārājahs from a number of historical works : **I.O.** 3928 (19th cent.).

(3) *Haqīqat i rājahā i Ujjain* : **R.A.S.** P. 69 (3) = Morley 58.

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (j) BUNDELK'HAND

1001. *Shaikh Jalāl Ḥiṣārī* has already been mentioned (p. 735 *supra*) as the author of a *Guwāliyar-nāmah*.

*Wāqī'ah Jhōjhār Sing'h*, an account of Jhōjhār Sing'h Būndēlah, Rājah of Ūnchah (Oorcha), and especially of the expedition sent against him by Shāh-Jahān under the command of Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān Khān-Jahān<sup>1</sup> and his consequent overthrow and death in 1044/1634-5 : **Rieu** iii 838a (A.D. 1690).

<sup>1</sup> To whom the author was at one time secretary.



1002. **Kēshav Dās** (Keśava Dāsa)<sup>1</sup> wrote in Hindustani *Barsing'h-charitra*, an encomiastic account of Rājah Bīrsing'h Dēō, of Oorcha, the murderer of Abū 'l-Faḍl (for whom see pp. 541-51 *supra*).

Persian translation: *Farah-bakhsh i jān* (a chronogram = 1244), made in 1828-9 by Rāy Shīv Parshād at the request of Turner Macan: **Ethé** 484 (A.H. 1244/1829).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (kk) THE DECCAN

1003. M. Hādī b. M. Mahdī known as **Mīrzā Mahdī Khān Ṣafawī** has already been mentioned as the author of the *Ḍiyā' al-'uyūn* (p. 54 *supra*) and the *Majmū'ah i Mīrzā-Mahdī-Khānī* (p. 519 *supra*).

*Qaḍāyā-yi salātīn i Dakan* (a chronogram = 1156/1743), a history of the Deccan based mainly on *Firishtah* and divided into seven *bābs*: **Ethé** 446 (only 1st *bāb* (Bahmanīs) and greater part of 2nd ('Ādil-Shāhs) to A.H. 1005/1596-7).

1004. **Lachhmi Narāyan** "**Shafiq**" **Aurangābādī** (see pp. 476-8 *supra*).

*Tanmīq i shigarf* (a chronogram = 1200/1786), a history of the Deccan dedicated to Richard Johnson: **Ethé** 447 (R. Johnson's copy, received by him in 1788), 448.

Later edition (?) written A.H. 1203/1788-9<sup>2</sup>: **Rieu** ii 859b (breaks off in an account of the Marāṭhās. Early 19th cent.).

1005. Some information concerning **M. 'Abbās "Rif'at"** **Shirwānī** has already been given on pp. 226-7 *supra*. For his *Sultān-nāmah* and his *Tārīkh i Qaiṣar i Rūm* see p. 421 *supra*.

*Bāgh i chahār-chaman*, a short history of the Deccan

<sup>1</sup> Presumably this is the correct form of the name which **Ethé** writes Gisūdās.

<sup>2</sup> This work (beg. *Bar damā'ir i āgāh-dilān*) is without title or preface, but is conjecturally assigned by **Rieu** to **Lachhmi Narāyan** on account of the substantial agreement of the chapter on the Marāṭhās with the *Bisāṭ al-ghanā'im*.



(54 pp.) written in 1300/1882-3. Edition : place ? date ? (see *Āṣafīyah* iii p. 92 no. 1153).

1006. Other works :

(1) *Aḥwāl i gharaq i Machhli-bandar*, a brief account of an inundation at Masulipatam on 1 Jumādā i 1282/22 Oct. 1865, by Ghulām Zain al-‘Ābidīn, the author of an account of the death of Nawwāb Afḍal al-Daulah Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf-Jāh on 13 Dhū ‘l-Qa‘dah 1285/25 Feb. 1869 and the accession of Nawwāb Mir Maḥbūb ‘Alī Khān (see p. 758 *infra*) : **Ivanow** Curzon 45 (1) (19th cent.).

(2) *Ḥang-nāmah i Dakan*, a detailed diary of the operations in southern India under Colonel Camac without author's name or preface : **Bodleian** 282 (defective at end).

(3) *Khizānah i Rasūl-Khānī dar tārikh i Dakan* : *Āṣafīyah* i p. 238 no. 606.

(4) *Tārikh i Dakan*, by Rāy Munnā Lāl. Edition : place ? 1303/1885-6 (see *Āṣafīyah* i p. 224 no. 797).

(5) *Waqā‘i‘ i Dakan*, history of events in the Deccan in Shāh-Jahān's reign : **Bloch** i 620 (18th cent.), *Āṣafīyah* i p. 258 no. 417 (possibly not the same work. A.H. 1287/1870-1).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (II) THE BAHMANIDS

1007. S. ‘Alī b. ‘Aziz Allāh *Ṭabāṭabā*,<sup>1</sup> or al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī,<sup>2</sup> al-Ḥasanī went to India from al-‘Irāq and entered the service of the Quṭb-Shāh [evidently either Muḥammad-Qulī, who came to the throne in 989/1580, or his predecessor Ibrāhīm]. Shortly afterwards he witnessed the siege of Naldrug [989-90] in the suite of M.-Qulī Quṭb-Shāh.<sup>3</sup> Apparently he left the Quṭb-

<sup>1</sup> *Burhān i ma‘āthir* p. 598<sup>20</sup> and also in the colophon of the author's son, p. 632 ult.

<sup>2</sup> *B. i m.* p. 592.

<sup>3</sup> *B. i m.* p. 534 penult. : *Hāwī i īn aurāq rā ham dar-ān nazdīkī az wilāyat i ‘Irāq ittifāq i Hindūstān uftādah dar silk i khuddām i ‘atabah i ‘ulyā-yi Quṭb-Shāhī intizām dāsh* u dar-ān rūz dar mulāzamat i ḥaḍrat i Quṭb-Shāh bar bulandī kih mushrif bar ḥiṣār u ma‘rakah i paikār būd istādah īn wāqī‘ah i hā’ilah rū ba-rāy al-‘ain mushāhadah mī numūd.



Shāhī service for that of the Nizām-Shāhs, since his *Burhān i ma'āthir* was written by order of Burhān Nizām Shāh, who reigned from 999/1591 to 1003/1595.

*Burhān i ma'āthir* (a chronogram = A.H. 1000/1592, the date of inception), a history of the Bahmanids of Gulbargah, the Bahmanids of Bīdar and the Nizām-Shāhs of Aḥmadnagar to the year 1004/1596: **Browne** Pers. Cat. 104 (as far as A.H. 999 autograph dated A.H. 1003/1594, the remainder written by the author's son in 1038/1628), Suppt. 173 (King's 64), **Rieu** i 314b (A.H. 1197/1782-3), **Ethé** 449 (slightly defective), **Romaskewicz** p. 4 no. 969.

Edition: **Haidarabad** (Delhi printed) 1355/1936‡ (Silsilah i makhtūtāt i fārisīyah, 2).

Abridged English translations: (1) [*Tabaqahs* i-ii, i.e. Gulbargah and Bīdar] *The history of the Bahmanī dynasty. Founded on the Burhān-i Ma'āthir* [and the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* of Rafī' al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī]. By J. S. King. (Reprinted from the "Indian Antiquary.") **London** 1900\*. (2) [*Tabaqah* iii] *The history of the Nizam Shahi Kings of Aḥmadnagar*. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig [Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. xlix-lii]. **Bombay** 1923\*.

1008. S. **Asad Allāh**, commonly called ('urf) Mīr Nawwāb, was a First *Ta'alluq-dār* under the Government of Haidarābād.

*Mukhtār al-akhbār tuḥfat al-akhyār*,<sup>1</sup> a history of the Bahmanid dynasty.

Edition: place ? date ? (see *Āsafīyah* iii p. 108 no. 1281).

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (mm) AḤMADNAGAR

1009. Shāh **Tāhir** b. Shāh Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ismā'īlī **al-Ḥusainī al-Dak'hani** was a teacher (*mudarris*) at Kāshān, who acquired such influence that he aroused the jealousy of Shāh Ismā'il and the hostility of the *Ṣadr*, Mīr Jamāl al-Dīn Astarābādī.

<sup>1</sup> *Mukhtār al-akhuār tuḥfat al-akhbār* according to the *Āsafīyah* catalogue.



Feeling insecure, he fled to India in 926/1520. Landing at Goa, he stayed for a time at Parēndah, but in 928/1522 he went to Ahmadnagar on the invitation of Burhān Nizām-Shāh and became his trusted adviser. He converted Burhān Nizām-Shāh to the Shī'ite belief and propagated it with much success in the Deccan. He died at Ahmadnagar in 952/1545, or 953/1546, or 956/1549.

A collection of his letters, *Inshā'*, or *Munsha'āt*, i *Shāh Tāhir*, partly official and partly private, has been preserved (see Rieu i 395, Bānkīpūr Suppt. ii 2121).

*Fath-nāmah*, an account of the conquest of Shōlāpūr by Burhān Nizām-Shāh : Bānkīpūr Suppt. ii 2119 (A.H. 1077/1666-7 or soon after).

[*Tuhfah i Sāmī*, Tīhrān A.H.S. 1314, p. 29 ; *Burhān i ma'āthir* pp. 251-8 (arrival in India), 258-68 (conversion of the king etc.), 324-6 (death) and elsewhere ; *Majālis al-mu'minīn* pp. 352-4 (the last biography in *Majlis* vii) ; *Firishtah*, Bombay ed., ii pp. 213-30 (in the account of Burhān Nizām-Shāh) ; Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary* p. 369 ; Rieu i 395 ; Bānkīpūr Suppt. ii pp. 94-5.]

1010. For the *Burhān i ma'āthir* of 'Alī b. 'Azīz Allāh Tabāṭabā see p. 740 *supra*.

1011. "On the back of the first leaf in the present volume" [i.e. the *Muntakhab i tawārīkh i Bahārī*] "there is a note, in English, stating that it contains sketches of the Ahmadnagar history, by the late Kāzī 'Abd an-Nabī, 'from original papers in his possession, transcribed from the original MS.' In the first lines of the text it is mentioned that the Jāmi' al-'Ulūm, written by the late Kāzī 'Abd an-Nabī, is the source from which the extracts relating to Ahmadnagar are derived ; and it would appear that that work was arranged in alphabetical order, since the extracts are said to have been taken from the Chapter of Alif with Hā." 'Abd al-Nabī b. Qādī 'Abd al-Rasūl **Ahmadnagarī** is described by Raḥmān 'Alī as a pupil and disciple of Shāh Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī Ahmadabādī. The well-known Gujrātī saint and scholar of that name (for whom see Raḥmān 'Alī



249 etc.) died in 998/1590 and cannot have been the immediate teacher of 'Abd al-Nabī Aḥmadnagarī, whose Persian commentary on the *Kāfiyah* of Ibn al-Hājib, *Jāmi' al-ghumūd manba' al-fuyūd*, was written in 1144/1731-2 (Editions: Cawnpore 1881° (2nd ed.), 1896° (4th ed.)). The *Jāmi' al-'ulūm*, from which the information relating to Aḥmadnagar is taken, must presumably be the work which in the preface is called *Dustūr al-'ulamā' jāmi' al-'ulūm al-'aqlīyah ḥawī 'l-furū' wa-'l-uṣūl al-naqlīyah* (on the title-page of the printed edition *Jāmi' al-'ulūm al-mulaqqab bi-Dustūr al-'ulamā'*) and of which the first *fann*, an Arabic dictionary of technical terms, was published at Ḥaidarābād in 1329/1911. It may be conjectured that one of the *funūn* of that work is a geographico-historical dictionary in Persian.

*Muntakhab i tawārīkh i Bahri*, "notices, documents, and extracts relating to the history of the Dakhin" [especially the Nizām-Shāhs] "taken from the . . . Jāmi' al-'Ulūm, by the Kāzī 'Abd an-Nabī: **R.A.S.** P. 78 = Morley 66.

[Raḥmān 'Alī p. 135].

1012. **Shihāb al-Dīn** was Qādī of Aḥmadnagar in the early part of the 19th century.

*Shihābī*, a historical work [on the Deccan?] compiled from *Firishtah*, *Khāfi Khān*, the *Jāmi' al-'ulūm* and the *Yād-dāshht i buzurgān*: **I.O.** 4536 (passages relating to Aḥmadnagar only from the accession of Aḥmad Shāh [II] Bahmanī to the time of [Henry] Pottinger circ. 1229 *Faṣlī*).

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (nn) BĪJĀPŪR

1013. **Rafi' al-Dīn Ibrāhīm** b. Nūr al-Dīn Taufīq **Shirāzī** was born in, or about, 947/1540-1, and went to India originally as a merchant. From his twentieth year he served 'Alī 'Ādil-Shāh (reigned 965/1557-987/1579), at first apparently as steward (*khwān-sālār*), and acted sometimes as his secretary. In 1005/1596-7 (i.e. in the time of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil-Shāh II, who reigned from 987/1579 to 1035/1626) he was sent on an important mission to Aḥmadnagar, and about this time he held the offices



of Governor of Bijāpūr, Steward to Prince Fath Khān and Master of the Mint. He wrote an abridgment of the *Raudat al-ṣafā'* and a work entitled *Farhang-nāmah*.

*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, begun in 1017/1608-9 and completed in 1020/1611-12, a history of the 'Ādil-Shāhs to 1020/1611-12 and of contemporary Indian and Persian dynasties : Blochet i 619 (18th cent.), Rieu i 316a (A.D. 1832), iii 1040a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), Suppt. 83 iii (19th cent.), Bodleian 276, Rehatsek p. 73 no. 11, Ethé 2838 (somewhat curtailed. A.D. 1879), Āṣafīyah iii p. 100 no. 1081 (A.H. 1306/1888-9. Title given as *Tuhfat al-mulūk*).

Abridged translation of an extract: *The history of the Bahmanī dynasty. Founded on the Burhān-i Ma'āṣir* [and the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*]. By J. S. King. (Reprinted from the "Indian Antiquary".) London 1900\*.

[Autobiographical statements in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*; *Futūhāt i 'Ādil-Shāhī* (Rieu i 317a) foll. 169a, 216b-227b; Rieu i 316a.]

1014. M. Ḥakīm (? Ḥakīm M.) Amīn, or Amīnā, "Ātashī" was a court-poet of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil-Shāh (A.H. 1036 or 1037/1626 or 1627-1067/1656). For a MS. of his *Kullīyāt* see Ethé 1536.

'*Ādil-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* on the exploits of Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil-Shāh : Ethé 1536 (4) (defective at beginning. A.H. 1042/1633).

1015. Hāshim Bēg "Fuzūnī" Astarābādī having performed a pilgrimage to Mecca was prevented by the unsafety of the roads from returning home and so set out for India, landed on the coast of Malabar and went to Bijāpūr, where Muṣṭafā Khān presented him to Sultān Muḥammad 'Ādil-Shāh.

*Futūhāt i 'Ādil-Shāhī*, a history of the 'Ādil-Shāhs to A.H. 1054/1644-5 : Rieu i 317a (17th cent.), 318a (abridged. 19th cent.).

[*Abd al-Nabī Mai-khānah* pp. 443-9; *Makhzanal-gharā'il* no. 1909.]

1016. Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥusainī composed



*Guldastah i gulshan i rāz* [?], a history of Muḥammad 'Ādil-Shāh: **Browne** Coll. H. 17 (13) = Houtum-Schindler 24 (defective at end).

1017. S. **Nūr Allāh** b. Qādī S. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Ḥusainī al-Qādirī was one of the men of letters in whose society 'Alī 'Ādil-Shāh II (A.H. 1070/1660–1083/1672) delighted.

(*Tārīkh (Tawārīkh) i 'Alī-'Ādil-Shāh(i)(yah)*), a turgid history of 'Alī 'Ādil-Shāh II from his birth to the invasion of Rājah Jai Sing'h and Shivājī and their final repulse in 1076/1665–6, completed in 1077/1666–7: **Aṣafiyah** i p. 226 no. 556, iii p. 96 no. 1076 (A.H. 1097/1685–6), **Lindesiana** p. 207 no. 937 (circ. A.D. 1720), **Rieu** i 318a (18th cent.), iii 968b (defective at end. Circ. A.D. 1850), 318b (A.D. 1821), **Ethé** 450 (n.d.), 451 (n.d.), 452 (A.H. 1233/1818), 453 (19th cent.), **I.O.** 4533 (A.H. 1298/1880), **Ivanow** 1st Suppt. 760 (early 19th cent.), **Gotha** Arabic Cat. v p. 487 no. 9\*\* (4) (A.H. 1257/1841).

[*Aḥwāl i salātīn i Bījāpūr* (B.M. MS. Add. 26,270 fol. 30); **Rieu** i 318.]

1018. At the request of 'Abd al-Muḥammad Shāh-nawāz Khān an anonymous author<sup>1</sup> compiled the

*Tawārīkh i haft kursī*, a sketch of 'Ādil-Shāhī history to 1097/1686 in seven *majālis*: **Ethé** 454.

1019. An anonymous author, who is called by Grant Duff (*History of the Mahrattas* i p. 78)<sup>2</sup> Syud Moideen [= Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ?] Peerzadah and by Erskine (in a note at the end of

<sup>1</sup> According to H. H. Wilson *The Mackenzie Collection*, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1828, p. 374, the author is "Ased khan of Lar" (? Asad Khān Lārī). It may perhaps be the history mentioned in § 1019 as by Mīr Ibrāhīm b. Mīr Ḥusain Lār Asad-Khānī. On a fly-leaf of the I.O. MS. the authorship is ascribed to Futūr Khān [sic ?].

<sup>2</sup> "A history of Beejapoor, written by Syud Moideen Peerzadeh, suggested by numerous enquiries put to him by English officers, who have been much in the habit of visiting Beejapoor since the last Mahratta war. It was finished in January 1821: and although great pains have been taken, the author's dates, by confusing the Soorsun and Hejrie eras, are frequently much misplaced. His industry, however, is very commendable."



the B.M. MS. Add. 26,269) Sued Ghulam Moideen Peerzadah, compiled in 1221/1806-7 from the histories of Mir Ibrāhīm b. Mir Husain Lūr Asad-Khānī (written in the time of 'Alī 'Ādil-Shāh II) and Shaikh Abū 'l-Ḥasan (who died a few years before the capture of Bijāpūr) his

*Aḥwāl i salāṭīn i Bijāpūr*, a sketch of 'Ādil-Shāhī history to the death of Sikandar in 1111/1699: **Rieu** i 318b (A.H. 1236/1821), **R.A.S.** P. 76 = Morley 64.

1020. **Ghulām Murtadā** called Ṣāhib Ḥaḍrat was an acquaintance of J. C. Grant Duff, the author of a well-known *History of the Mahrattas*, who mentions him in that work (vol. i p. 98) not indeed as the author of the *Basātīn al-salāṭīn* but as "a Peerzaduh, styled Sahib Hazrut, son-in-law of Abdoolah Sahib, a very venerable and sensible old man, the most respectable person now in Beejapoor"<sup>1</sup> and as the owner of "original memoranda for a history of Beejapoor, partly arranged by Abdool Hossein [sic, for Abū 'l-Ḥasan] Qazee, who died a few years before the city was finally captured". According to the British Museum copies the *Basātīn al-salāṭīn* was completed in 1237/1822, which is indeed the date of Add. 26,269, and according to one of them it was intended for presentation to Mr. Grant, the Resident [i.e. the afore-mentioned J. C. Grant Duff, originally Grant, British Resident at Satārah, for whom see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 178]. In the other recorded copies, however, the name of Ghulām Murtadā is replaced in the preface by that of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zubairī and the date of completion is given as 1240/1824.

*Basātīn al-salāṭīn*, a history of the 'Ādil-Shāhs to Aurang-zēb's conquest (with a brief summary of subsequent events), in eight sections called *basātīn*: **Rieu** i 319a (A.H. 1237/1822), 320b (A.H. 1247/1831), 320b (19th cent.), **R.A.S.** P. 77 = Morley 65 (A.H. 1240/1824), **Bānkipūr** vii 612 (A.H. 1241/1825), **Bombay** Fyzee 13 (A.H. 1245/1829-30), **Ethé** 455.

<sup>1</sup> "He is full of legendary information, and on seeing and conversing with him, in the midst of lofty domes and falling palaces, one fancies himself in company with the last of the inhabitants of that wonderful place."



Edition: **Haidarābād** n.d.\* (Saiyidī Press), 1310/1892-3 (Āṣafīyah i p. 224 nos. 278 and 795. Perhaps identical with the preceding edition).

Urdu translation: by M. Faḍl al-Ḥaqq also called Aḥmad Miyān, **Baroda** 1895\* (Nāgarī character).

### M. HISTORY OF INDIA: (oo) GOLCONDA

1021. It was in 1016/1607, according to Sprenger,<sup>1</sup> that "**Fursī**" composed his *Nasab-nāmah* or *Nisbat-nāmah i shahryārī*, as Sprenger calls it.

*Nasab-nāmah*, or, according to Sprenger, *Nisbat-nāmah i shahryārī*, a poem of about 20,000 verses on the history of the Quṭb-Shāhī dynasty extending to the beginning of M.-Qulī's reign (A.H. 989/1581-1020/1611): Sprenger no. 227 (Mōtī Maḥall and A.S.B.), **Ivanow** 690 (fine copy. A.H. 1022/1613 (?)), 691 ("*Tawārīkh i Quṭb-Shāh*," an abridgment (?),<sup>2</sup> made possibly by Hīrā La'l "*Khush-dil*", Ḥaidar-Qulī *Khān's* *Munshī*, to whom the work is ascribed in the colophon of this MS. Defective and perished copy. Late 18th cent.), **Ethé** 1486 (the same abridgment. N.d.).

1022. It was at the command of Sultān Muḥammad Quṭb-Shāh, who reigned from 1020/1612 to 1035/1626, that an anonymous author wrote the *Tārīkh i Sultān-Muḥammad-Quṭb-Shāhī*, which was (doubtless only in part) abridged from an earlier history and completed in *Sha'bān* 1026/1617.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ivanow was "unable to discover the date of composition, 1016/1607, given in Spr. 409" and thought the poem probably earlier.

<sup>2</sup> "The author's name is given (on ff. 3v, 9v, 107 etc.) as Fursī, the same as in the preceding work, and a collation with it shows that both works are not only identical in their arrangement and contents, but even that in the present version there are a great number of hemistichs agreeing word for word with those in No. 690. The connection of both works is beyond dispute, but it is difficult to determine the nature of this relation" (Ivanow).

<sup>3</sup> Rieu's statement (copied by several later cataloguers) that this work was begun in *Sha'bān* 1026 and completed at the beginning of 1027 is apparently due to misunderstanding of a passage in which the author says that he completed it in *Sha'bān* 1026, the beginning of the 27th year of the Sultān's life.



*Tārīkh i Sultān-Muḥammad-Qutb-Shāhī*, as the author calls it in the preface, or *Tārīkh i Qutb-Shāhī*, as it is sometimes called, a history of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty to the end of 1025/1616: **Ethé** 456 (A.H. 1078/1668), 457 (A.H. 1197/1783–1198/1784), 458–62 (5 copies, one described as old), **I.O.** 3676(a) (A.D. 1852), 4534 (A.D. 1880 ?), **Bloch** iv 2325 (A.H. 1082/1671), i 621 (early 18th cent.), **Leyden** iii p. 10 no. 922 (not later than A.D. 1680), **Rieu** i 322a (3 copies, one of the 17th cent.), 320b (A.H. 1196/1782), iii 957a (extracts only), **Bānkipūr** vii 613 (A.H. 1171/1757–8), **Browne** Suppt. 243 (Christ's), 244 (A.H. 1199/1784–5. King's 89), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 228 nos. 401, 374, 680, 790 (“*Tārīkh i Qutb-Shāhī*”). Probably not all the same work, since only 374 is expressly stated to be the same work as 401, which is described as written in 1026), **Bodleian** 277, **R.A.S.** P. 80 = Morley 68.

1023. **Maḥmūd**<sup>1</sup> b. ‘Abd Allāh **Nishāpūrī** entered the service of Sultān Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb-Shāh in 995/1587. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca and also a long journey through Persia. At one place in his *Ma’āthir i Qutb-Shāhī i Maḥmūdī* A.H. 1033/1624 is mentioned as the current year, but elsewhere a later date, A.H. 1038/1629, occurs. It seems probable that he is identical with the author of the *Tārīkh i Turkmānīyah* (see p. 299 *supra*).

*Ma’āthir i Qutb-Shāhī i Maḥmūdī*, a history originally written in three volumes but afterwards several times altered and enlarged, of which the portion surviving in **Ethé** 463 contains a brief sketch of the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Qutb-Shāh with a detailed account of contemporary events especially under the Ṣafawīs based on the ‘*Ālam-ārāy i ‘Abbāsī*’ and divided into 12 *maqālahs*: **Ethé** 463 (portion only, defective at end).

1024. **Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad** b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shīrāzī al-Ṣā‘idī.

*Ḥadīqat al-salāṭīn*, a pompous history of Sultān ‘Abd Allāh Qutb-Shāh (b. 1023/1614, acc. 1035/1626, d. 1083/1672) from

<sup>1</sup> **Ethé** calls the author of the *Ma’āthir i Qutb-Shāhī i Maḥmūdī* “Muḥammad bin ‘Abdallāh of Nishāpūr” and the author of the *Tārīkh i Turkmānīyah* “Ibn ‘Abdallāh Maḥmūd of Nishāpūr” without suggesting their identity.



his birth to the sixteenth year of his reign, A.H. 1050/1640-1 : **Rieu** i 321a (A.H. 1196/1782), 322a (defective. 18th cent.), **Ethé** 464 (A.D. 1807), **I.O.** 3676 (b) (A.D. 1852).

Edition (of "Part I") : **Haidarābād** 1350/1932\*<sup>1</sup> (edited by S. 'Alī Aṣghar Bilgrāmī).

1025. For the *Hadīqat al-‘ālam* of Mīr-‘Ālam (Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Mūsawī) see p. 751 *infra*.

1026. M. Qādir Khān "Munshī" Bīdarī was the author of works entitled *Tārīkh i Āṣaf-Jāhī* (see p. 755 *infra*), *Tawārīkh i farkhundah* (see p. 755 *infra*), *Sair i Hind u gulgasht i Dakan*, written in 1247/1831-2 (see *Āṣafīyah* i p. 242 nos. 286 and 754), and *Shams al-madhāhib*, written in 1251/1835-6.

(1) *Tārīkh i Quṭb-Shāhī* : **Rieu** iii 1037b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

Edition : Burhānīyah Press, **Haidarābād** (see **Haidarābād** Coll. p. 50, where the date is not mentioned).

(2) *Tārīkh i Qādirī*, a history of the Quṭb-Shāhs written in 1249/1833-4 (and probably identical with the preceding work) : **Āṣafīyah** i p. 228 no. 409 (A.H. 1300/1882-3), no. 679 (A.H. 1307/1889-90).

1027. Other works :

(1) (*Naql i Jamshēd Khān*), a short anonymous account of the reign of Jamshēd Khān Quṭb-Shāh : **D.M.G.** 11 (38 foll. A.H. 1246/1831).

(2) *Tārīkh i Dakan ḥālāt i Quṭbīyah* : **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 96 no. 1178.

## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (pp) HĀIDARĀBĀD

1028. Mīr M. Aḥsan "Ījād" has already been mentioned (p. 604 *supra*) as the author of a history of Farrukh-siyar.

*Tārīkh i futūḥāt i Āṣafī*, manẓūm (*Shāh-nāmah i Dakan*),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Luzac's Oriental List*, vol. xlix, no. 3 (July-Sept. 1933), p. 93, where the place of publication is given as Karachi.



a poem on the events of forty years in India and the conquests of Āṣaf-Jāh : **Āṣafiyah** iii p. 96 no. 1493 (defective at both ends. A.H. 1133/1720-1).

1029. When Nizām-‘Alī **Khān** was marching against Rag’hunāt’h Rāō, he asked **M. Faīd-Bakhsh** Qādī Aurangābādī to write an account of the campaign.

*History of the campaign against Rag’hunāt’h Rāō* and other Marāt’hā commanders from 22 Sha‘bān 1187/9 Nov. 1773 to his defeat and flight on 6 Rabī‘ i 1188/17 May 1774 : **Bānkipūr** vii 614 (31 foll. 19th cent.).

1030. **Mun‘im Khān** b. ‘Abd al-Mughnī Hamadānī<sup>1</sup> Aurangābādī<sup>2</sup> was in the military service of Nizām-‘Alī **Khān**, from whom he received the titles of Mun‘im al-Daulah Qudrat-Jang, and was for a time *Qal‘ah-dār* of Bīdar. He was in his 47th year when he wrote his *Sawāniḥ i Dakan*.

*Sawāniḥ i Dakan*, an account of the six *ṣūbahs* of the Deccan and a history of the Nizāms to A.H. 1197/1783 followed by notices of prominent *amīrs* of Nizām-‘Alī’s reign, of Mād’hava Rāō and Rag’hujī Bhōslah with a *khātimah* containing an account of the author and his ancestors : **Rieu** i 322b (late 18th cent.), iii 1039b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1040a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 242 no. 604, **Ethé** 2836 (lacks most of the *khātimah*), **I.O.** 3888.

1031. Of unknown authorship is

*A short history of the Nizāms to the accession of Mīr Nizām-‘Alī Khān* in 1175/1761 written apparently in 1198/1784, but without preface or author’s name (beginning *Aṣl i nasab i sharīf i ḥadrat i Nawwāb i mustatāb i mu‘allā-alqāb*) : **Rieu** i 323a (53 foll. Late 18th cent.).

1032. **Shāh Tajallī ‘Alī** was a disciple and pupil of the saint and calligraphist **Shāh Mu‘īn Tajallī** and became distinguished himself

<sup>1</sup> He claimed descent from the well-known Naqshbandī saint **Khawājah Yūsuf Hamadānī**.

<sup>2</sup> His grandfather settled in Aurangābād.



as a mystic, a calligraph, a poet, a prose-writer, and a painter. He was a constant companion of Nizām-'Alī Khān (Nizām of Haidarābād 1175/1761–1218/1803), of A'zam al-umarā' Arastū-Jāh and of Shams al-umarā'. When he wrote the *Tuzuk i Āsafīyah* A'zam al-umarā' procured for him a gift of fifty thousand rupees from the *amīrs* of Haidarābād. For a portrait of Nizām-'Alī Khān he received a reward of five thousand rupees.

According to the *Gulzār i Āsafīyah* he died in 1215/1800–1. According to Rieu iii 1037a "In a copy [of the *Tuzuk i Āsafīyah*] belonging to Mīr Akbar 'Alī Khān, of Haidarābād, the history is brought down to Shavvāl A.H. 1206, and it is stated at the end that it was cut short by the death of the author".

*Tuzuk i Āsafī*, or *Tuzuk i Āsafīyah*, or *Āsaf-nāmah*, or *Tadhkirah i Āsafī*, a history of the Nizāms and especially Nizām-'Alī Khān to Shawwāl 1206/1792: **Ethé** 467 (A.H. 1226/1811), *Āsafīyah* i p. 234 nos. 526 (A.H. 1260/1844), 732 (A.H. 1298/1881), **Bānkipūr** vii 616 (extending to A.H. 1217/1802? 19th cent.), **Rieu** iii 1037a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), 1039a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850), perhaps also **R.A.S.** P. 79 = Morley 67 (" *Tarīkh i Nizām-'Alī Khān u Nāṣir-Jang* ". Defective at end).

Edition: **Haidarābād** 1310/1892–3 (see *Āsafīyah* i p. 234 nos. 475 and 710 and Haidarābād Coll. p. 58).

[*Gulzār i Āsafīyah* pp. 382–3; Sprenger p. 294.]

1033. **Lachhmī Narāyan** " **Shafiq** " **Aurangābādī** (see pp. 476–8 *supra*).

(1) *Ma'āthir i Āsafī*, a history of the Nizāms, completed 1 Rabī' ii 1208/6 Nov. 1793: **Ethé** 468, **Ivanow** 196 (defective at end. Early 13th cent. H.), **Rieu** iii 1039a (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

(2) " *A description of the city of Haidarābād*, its mosques, palaces and gardens with a sketch of its history and an account of the neighbouring provinces of Muḥammadābād (Bīdar) and Aurangābād " written A.H. 1214/1799–1800 (beg. *Ba'd i lamd i Parwardgār*): **Rieu** i 327a (early 19th cent.).

1034. Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Mūsawī, surnamed



(*al-mulaqqab*) **Mir-‘Ālam**, as he calls himself in the preface to the *Ḥadīqat al-‘ālam*, i.e. Mīr Abū ‘l-Qāsim Mūsawī Shūshtarī, was born at Ḥaidarābād in 1166/1752–3, his father having migrated to the Deccan from Persia (*az wilāyat, Gulzār i Āṣafīyah* p. 305<sup>7</sup>) in the time of Āṣaf-Jāh I (d. 1161/1748). He became the confidential agent of Nizām-‘Alī Khān (Nizām of Ḥaidarābād 1175/1761–1218/1803) and was repeatedly entrusted with important missions. In 1201/1786–7 (*Gulzār i Āṣafīyah* p. 306<sup>12</sup>) he was sent to Calcutta for the purpose of negotiating a treaty with Lord Cornwallis, and on his return he received the title of *Mīr-‘Ālam* (*ba-khitāb i Mīr-‘Ālam Bahādur mashhūr i āfāq shud*, *Gulzār i Āṣafīyah* p. 307<sup>2</sup>). In 1206/1792 he took a prominent part in the conclusion of peace with Ṭīpū Sultān. At the siege of Seringapatam in 1213/1799 he was in command of the Nizām’s contingent. In Rabī‘ ii 1219/1804 Sikandar-Jāh (Nizām of Ḥaidarābād 1218/1803–1244/1829) appointed him *Dīwān* and *Madār al-mahāmm* (*Gulzār i Āṣafīyah* p. 213<sup>14</sup>). After holding this office for four years and a half he died on 23 Shawwāl 1223/12 Dec. 1808 (*Gulzār i Āṣafīyah* p. 315<sup>5</sup>), and, according to the *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr*, he lies buried in the *Dā’irah i Mīr Mūmin* at Ḥaidarābād.

(1) *Ḥadīqat al-‘ālam*,<sup>1</sup> a history of the Quṭb-Shāhs and the Nizāms in two *maqālahs* ((1) the Quṭb-Shāhs in seven *bābs*, (2) the Nizāms in a *muqaddimah* (*Ṣūbah-dārs* of the Tīmūrids) and four *bābs* ((1) Āṣaf-Jāh, d. 1161/1748, (2) Nāṣir-Jang, d. 1164/1750, (3) Ṣalābat-Jang, d. 1177/1763, (4) Nizām-‘Alī, to 1209/1794–5 with a few lines on the 2nd Mysore War and Ṭīpū’s death in 1213/1799), a fifth *bāb* (on Sikandar-Jāh) and a

<sup>1</sup> According to S. Ḥusain Bilgrāmī *A memoir of Sir Salar Jung*, Bombay 1883, p. 12, the *Ḥadīqat al-‘ālam* was really written by ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Shūshtarī, the author of the *Tuhfat al-‘Ālam* (for which see Rieu i 383 etc.), and in the B.M. MS. Add. 26,259 (Rieu i 324b) there is a preamble in which M. Abū Turāb b. S. Aḥmad al-Riḍawī claims the authorship. Similarly in Ethé 465 there is a preamble in which Mīr Abū Turāb says that at Mīr-‘Ālam’s request he wrote in 1221/1806 a history of the Quṭb-Shāhs entitled *Quṭb-numāy i ‘ālam* and divided into a *muqaddimah*, seven *bābs* and a *khātimah* (on Mīr-‘Ālam’s life). For a copy see Ethé 2840 mentioned below. A work by Abū Turāb entitled *Farḥat al-‘ālam* of which an edition [?] was published (where ?) in 1221/1806 is mentioned in *Āṣafīyah* ii p. 880 no. 133.



*khātimah* (on the author's life) having apparently remained unwritten: **Ethé** 465 (*Maqālah* i), 466 (a fragment (40 foll.) of a history of Nizām-'Alī from his birth A.H. 1146/1733-4 to A.H. 1171/1758, "no doubt a part of the first original sketch, out of which the second *makālah* of the work has been expanded." A.D. 1785), 2839 (*Maqālah* i), 2840 (Mīr Abū Turāb's *Qutb-numāy i 'ālam* virtually identical with the *Ḥadīqat al-'ālam*. A.H. 1222/1807), **Rieu** i 323*b* (*Maqālah* i only. Early 19th cent.), 324*b* (*Maqālah* ii, slightly defective at end. Early 19th cent.), 325*b* (5 foll., supplying the defect at end of the preceding. Early 19th cent.), Suppt. 84 i (both *maqālahs*. A.H. 1258/1842), **R.A.S.** P. 81 (*Maqālah* i. A.H. 1258/1842).

Editions: **Ḥaidarābād** 1266/1850°, 1310/1892-3\*.

Abridged English translation of *Maqālah* ii: E. B. Eastwick *The Kaisarnāmah i Hind*, London 1877-82, vol. i, appendix, pp. 1-106.

(2) *Bayān i jang i Āṣaf-ḡāh kih dar Barār wāqī' shudah* (beginning *Nizām al-Mulk i sukhunwarī*), by Mīr Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Mūsawī [i.e. presumably Mīr-'Ālam]: **Berlin** 15 (17) (A.H. 1203/1788-9).

[‘Abd al-Laṭīf Shūshtarī *Tuhfat al-'ālam* (B.M. MS. Add. 23,533, foll. 53-60); *Gulzār i Āṣafīyah* pp. 305-15; Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary* p. 249; H. G. Briggs *The Nizam. His history and relations with the British Government*, London 1861, vol. i, pp. 139-41; E. B. Eastwick *The Kaisarnāmah i Hind*, London 1877-82, vol. i pp. 106-7; Nizāmī Badāyūnī *Qāmūs al-mashāhīr* (in Urdu) ii p. 247; *Mīr-'Ālam*, an Urdu biography (230 pp.) by Sirāj al-Dīn "Ṭālib", Ḥaidarābād; Portrait in *Pictorial Hyderabad compiled . . . by K. Krishnaswamy Mudiraj*, Hyderabad 1929, vol. i, p. 192.]

1035. Khwājah ‘**Abd al-Ḥakīm** was educated at Farrukhābād and was a pupil of M. Raḥm-'Alī Khān and of Muftī S. M. Walī Allāh [Farrukhābādī, for whom see pp. 25 and 694 *supra*]. At the time when he wrote the *Tuhfat i Akbarī* he had been for nine years in the service of the government of Ḥaidarābād, having obtained



employment there through Munshī Mīr 'Azīz Allāh, *Mīr Munshī* to the *darbār*, and had received the titles of Khān and Bahādur and a *mansab*.

*Tuhfah i Akbarī*, a concise history of the Nizāms of Haidarābād and contemporary rulers in the Deccan down to the time of Mīr Akbar 'Alī Khān [Sikandar-Jāh 1218/1803–1244/1829], of the Indian Tīmūrids from Aḥmad Shāh to Shāh-'Ālam, and of the Panjāb from the rise of the Sik'hs, written apparently in 1219/1804–5 : I.O. 4009 (A.D. 1897).

1036. 'Abd al-Razzāq b. 'Abd al-Nabī, an inhabitant of the district of Nāndēṛ (on the Gōdāvarī, 145 miles N. of Haidarābād) was employed as *Munshī i dāk* by Sir John Malcolm, who reached Nirmal in September 1817 during his campaign against the Pindārīs.

*Tadhkirah i Nirmal*, a history of the fortress of Nirmal to 1198/1783 (so Rieu, but Ethé 469 goes down to 1231/1816) written at Sir J. Malcolm's request : Rieu i 327a (circ. A.D. 1817), Ethé 469 (A.D. 1851), *Āṣafīyah* i p. 232 no. 461 (A.H. 1288/1871–2), iii p. 98 no. 996 (A.H. 1247/1831–2), Ivanow 197 (A.H. 1316/1898–9).

Edition : Haidarābād 1323/1905–6 (see *Āṣaf*. i p. 232 no. 920 and Haidarābād Coll. p. 16).

1037. Faḍl i Ḥaqq Ṣiddīqī Qādirī Chishtī commonly called **M. Faḍl Allāh** spent many years under the protection and patronage of the Nawwāb Mumtāz al-umarā' Bahādur and Rājah Shām Rāj Bahādur. He is no doubt identical with the Faḍl i Ḥaqq who in 1252/1836–7 composed the *Risālah i fawā'id* mentioned under the heading *Mawā'iz i fārisī* in the *Āṣafīyah* Library catalogue vol. ii p. 1606 no. 204. It was in 1236/1820 that he wrote the *Waqā'i' i Dakan*.

(1) *Waqā'i' i Dakan*, a history of the Nizāms to A.H. 1233/1817 : Bānkipūr vii 617 (A.H. 1241/1826).

(2) *Tārīkh i Gauhar i shāhwār*, a history of which the precise subject is not stated in *Āṣafīyah* i p. 230 no. 442 (A.H. 1299/1881–2).



1038. **Ghulām-Husain Khān** “**Jauhar**” became in 1190/1776 secretary to the *Dīwān* of Ḥaidarābād A‘zam al-umarā’ Ghulām-Saiyid **Khān** (d. 1219/1804-5). Subsequently he retired to Muḥammadābād (Bīdar) and wrote his ‘*Arḍ i Jauhar*, a collection of poems and letters, as well as works on astrology, geometry, and medicine. In 1225/1810 he returned to Ḥaidarābād and made the acquaintance of Rājah **Chandū Lāl** “**Shādān**” (who became *Dīwān* in 1818 and died in 1845)<sup>1</sup> and the poetess **Chandā Bibī**<sup>2</sup> called Māh-liqā Bā’i. In 1238/1822-3 he again visited Ḥaidarābād and saw much of **Chandā**, at whose request, in his seventieth year, he wrote his *Tārīkh i dil-afrūz*.

(1) *Tārīkh i dil-afrūz*, a history of the Nizāms to the accession of Sikandar-Jāh A.H. 1218/1803 divided into a *muqaddimah* (on the origin of the Nizāms), fourteen *lam‘ahs* ((1) Āṣaf-Jāh, (2) Nāṣir-Jang, (3) Ṣalābat-Jang, (4) Nizām-‘Alī **Khān**, (5) Nizām-‘Alī’s younger brothers, esp. Basālat-Jang and Mihr-‘Alī, (6) famous men of Nizām-‘Alī’s reign, (7) Sikandar-Jāh, (8) **Chandā Bibī**, (9) geography and history of the Six *Ṣubahs* and of Hindūstān, (10) extent of the empire under Shāh-Jahān and Aurangzēb, (11) fortresses, princes, and officials under the same Emperors, (12) creation of the world, etc., (13) the Seven Climates, (14) rivers, mountains, etc.) and a *khātimah* (Hindī poems by **Chandā**): **Rieu** i 325b (lacks *khātimah*. 19th cent.), 326b (defective at both ends. Early 19th cent.).

(2) *Māh-nāmah*, a history (precise subject not ascertained, but perhaps identical with the preceding): **Āṣafiyah** i p. 230 no. 410 (A.H. 1238/1822-3), **I.O.** 4532 (portion relating to the Deccan).

[*Tārīkh i dil-afrūz*, near beginning (cf. **Rieu** i 325a).]

1039. S. **Ilṭifāt Husain Khān** b. ‘Azīz Allāh **Khān** was *Mīr Munshī* to the British Residency at Ḥaidarābād in the time of Sir Henry Russell (1811-20).

<sup>1</sup> For his life see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography*, p. 79, and the various works on the history of Ḥaidarābād. Urdu, Hindī, and Persian *dīwāns* of his are extant.

<sup>2</sup> For her Urdu *dīwān* see Blumhardt *Catalogue of the Hindustani MSS. in the Library of the India Office*, no. 218, where some account of her is given.



*Nigāristān i Āsafī*, a history of the Nizāms written shortly after 1231/1816 by order of Sir H. Russell : **Ivanow** 1st Suppt. 764 ("Cond. hopeless." Mid 19th cent.).

Edition : place ? 1323/1905 (apparently in the same volume as 'Azīz-Jang's *Mahbūb al-siyar*. See *Āsafīyah* i p. 252 no. 493).

1040. **Makk'han La'l Shāhjānpūrī** **Ḥaidarābādī** wrote his *Yādgār i Makk'han La'l* at the suggestion of Charles Metcalfe, British Resident at **Ḥaidarābād** (1820-5).

*Yādgār i Makk'han La'l*, a history of **Ḥaidarābād** : **Āsafīyah** iii p. 112 no. 1094.

Edition : *Tārīkh i Yādgār*, **Ḥaidarābād** (see **Ḥaidarābād** Coll. p. 38, where the date is not specified).

1041. M. **Qādir Khān** "**Munshī**" **Bīdarī** has already been mentioned (p. 748 *supra*) as the author of a history of the **Qutb-Shāhs** written in 1249/1833-4.

(1) *Tārīkh i Āsaf-Jāhī*, a history of the Nizāms from their origin to the accession of **Sikandar-Jāh** (A.H. 1218/1803) : **Rieu** iii 1037b (extracts only. Circ. A.D. 1850).

(2) *Tawārīkh i farkhundah*, a short history of **Ḥaidarābād** to A.H. 1240/1824-5 : **Āsafīyah** i p. 234 no. 246 (A.H. 1240/1824-5).

1042. **Khawājah Ghulām-Ḥusain Khān**, entitled (*al-mukhātāb bah*) **Khān i Zamān Khān**, b. **Ḥakīm al-Mamālik Masīḥ al-Daulah Khawājah M. Bāqir Khān** was born in 1199/1784-5. He was appointed *Ta'alluq-dār i Dawā-khānah i khāṣṣ* (Director of the Court Dispensary) by **Sikandar-Jāh** (Nizām of **Ḥaidarābād** 1803-29). His successor **Nāṣir al-Daulah** (1829-57) retained him and his brothers as court physicians, like their father and grandfather before them. In the *Āsafīyah* catalogue (iii p. 109) the date of his death is given as 1260/1844, but this may perhaps be the date of composition placed in the wrong column.

*Gulzār i Āsafīyah*, a history of the **Qutb-Shāhs** and, more especially, the Nizāms, with biographies of the notable persons



who flourished under the latter, statistics of the six provinces of the Deccan, and other matters, completed on 4 Jumādā ii A.H. 1260/1844.<sup>1</sup>

Edition : Muḥammadi Press [**Bombay**.<sup>2</sup> Printed for S. Rustam 'Alī, Bookseller, Ḥaidarābād] 1308/1891<sup>o\*3</sup> (cf. *Āṣafīyah* iii p. 108 no. 1211).

[*Gulzār i Āṣafīyah, Muqaddimah.*]

1043. 'Abd al-'Alīm M. Naṣr Allāh Khān "Qamar" b. Ḥakīm 'Umar Khān Aḥmadī Khawēshgī<sup>4</sup> Khūrjawī left his birthplace Khūrjah<sup>5</sup> at the age of ten on his father's death and went to live with his maternal uncle Fath Khān, who was then *taḥṣildār* at Nizāmābād (A'zamgarh Dist.). The well-known Maulawī Aḥmad 'Alī Chiriyākōṭī (for whom see Raḥmān 'Alī) was one of his teachers. He entered the service of Government, and in 1838 became a Deputy Collector. In 1865, some years after leaving the government service, he went to Ḥaidarābād, and remained there for 15 years, serving first as Nāẓim (Chief Judge) of the Faujdārī 'Adālat (Criminal Court) and subsequently as a *Ṣadr Ta'alluqah-dār* (corresponding in many respects to a Revenue Commissioner in British India, see Temple *Journals* i p. 34). He died at Khūrjah on 27 Muḥarram 1299/19 Dec. 1881. He was held in much estimation as a Ṣūfī and as an official.

Nineteen works of his are mentioned in the *Bayād i jān-fizā* p. 21, including (1) *Tuhfat al-muṣallīn*, a Persian translation of Sadīd al-Dīn al-Kāshgharī's *Munyat al-muṣallī* (Cawnpore 1299/1882<sup>o</sup>, Lahore [1882<sup>o</sup>]), (2) *Sharḥ i Rubā'iyāt i Yūsufī*, a commentary on "Yūsufī's" metrical therapeutics (Āgrah 1863<sup>o</sup>, Cawnpore 1299/1882<sup>o</sup>), (3) *Tiryāk i Khūrjah*, on antidotes to

<sup>1</sup> On p. 152 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1258 is mentioned as the date of completion.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Āṣafīyah* catalogue the place of printing is said to be Lucknow, but this is evidently incorrect, since the work appears in the Bombay Quarterly Catalogue for the 4th quarter of 1891.

<sup>3</sup> No such date is traceable in the I.O. copy, which, however, seems to have lost two preliminary pages after the first leaf.

<sup>4</sup> This is the name of an Afghān clan.

<sup>5</sup> Khūrjah is 10 miles S. of Bulandshahr, 30 miles N. of Aligarh, and 50 miles S.E. of Delhi.



snake-poison (Meerut 1279/1862°), (4) *Yumn i azfarī*, a grammar of Eastern Turkish (Lucknow 1878°), (5) *Bayād i dil-kushā*, an anthology, as well as several works in Arabic and Urdu. His *Jāmi' i Fath-Khānī*, a biography of his uncle, will be mentioned in the section on biography.

*Tārīkh i Dakan* (a chronogram = 1285/1868-9), an account of Haidarābād, its physical features, administration, inhabitants, distinguished men etc. and of the author's journey thither in 1865 and his subsequent experiences there.

Editions : Lucknow 1870°\*, 1879°.

[Sir R. Temple *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal*, London 1887, vol. i, pp. 31, 99; *Bayād i jān-fizā*, an Urdu biography devoting special attention to Sūfistic matters by his disciple M. Farīd Aḥmad, Āgrah n.d.\*; Raḥman 'Alī 237.]

1044. Abū 'l-Fath Diyā' al-Dīn M., known as (*al-ma'rūf*) S. Amjad Husain, b. S. Ashraf al-Husainī al-Anbāzī [?] was *Khatīb* of the Masjid i Jāmi' and the 'Id-gāh of Ēlichpūr (Ellichpur in Berar).

*Tārīkh i Amjadīyah* (" *risālah i hādihā kih bah Riyād al-Raḥmān mulaqqab u Tawārīkh* [sic<sup>1</sup>] *i Dakan ism i tārīkhī u bah Tārīkh i Amjadīyah mashhūr ast*", p. 8<sup>1</sup>), a history of India with special reference to the Deccan and particularly to Berar and its one-time capital Ēlichpūr, begun in 1285/1868-9 (as is indicated by its chronogrammatic title *Tārīkh i Dakan*) in the time of Afdal al-Daulah, but not completed until after his death, since the history of the Nizāms is brought down to Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān, and on p. 429 ult. the year 1286 [1869-70] is mentioned as the date of writing.

Edition : Maṭba' i Khwursḥēdīyah [Haidarabad ?], date ?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But *Tārīkh* on the title-page and at the head of the table of contents, and this is clearly correct since *Tawārīkh i Dakan* would indicate 1291.

<sup>2</sup> The I.O. copy is defective, the last page being 722 (pp. 707-722 are misbound between 650 and 651). According to the table of contents, the *khātimal i kitāb* began on p. 725.



1045. Khān Bahādur Shams al-'Ulamā' Aḥmad 'Abd al-'Aziz "Wilā" Nā'itī Madrasī, entitled Nawwāb 'Aziz-Jang Bahādur, was born at Nellore in 1855. In, or about, 1873 he and his father settled in Ḥaidarābād and he obtained a post as calligrapher to the Nizām's government. Eventually he became a *Ṣadr Ta'alluqdār*, a member of the Legislative Council, and Vice-President of the Municipality. He died in 1342/1924 (see *Āṣafīyah* iii p. 616 no. 444). He is best known as the author of the enormous unfinished Persian dictionary entitled *Āṣaf al-lughāt*, of which seventeen volumes, extending to the word *jarrār*, were published between 1327/1909 and 1340/1921-2. Other works published by him are '*Atīyāt i Sultānī*, "a description of gifts, grants, assignments, stipends and allowances granted in the Deccan provinces" (Ḥaidarābād A.H. 1325/1907), *Filāḥat al-nakhl* (Ḥaidarābād 1313 Faṣlī), *Kāshat i angūr* (Ḥaidarābād A.H. 1323/1905), *Kāshat i tarkārī* (Ḥaidarābād 1315 Faṣlī), *Siyāq i Dakan*, on the system of account-keeping (Ḥaidarābād 1904) and *Tārīkh al-Nawā'it*, a history of the Nā'itī or Nā'itī tribe, who claim to be of Arab descent (Ḥaidarābād, date ?), all of these being in Urdu. In 1907 he presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a collection of over 500 works (described in the *Author-catalogue of the Ḥaidarābād Collection of manuscripts and printed books*, Calcutta 1913). Similar donations were made by him to two other Indian libraries.

*Maḥbūb al-siyar*, a history of Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān, G.C.S.I., G.C.B. (Nizām of Ḥaidarābād 1869-1911).

Edition: **Ḥaidarābād** A.H. 1323/1905 (see *Ḥaidarābād Coll.*, p. 19).

[C. Hayavadana Rao *Indian biographical dictionary*, p. 6 ; *Author-catalogue of the Ḥaidarābād Collection* pp. iii, 18-19 ; obituary notice by J. van Manen in *J.ASB.* vol. xxi (1925) p. clxxxvi ; Portraits in the *Maḥbūb al-siyar*, *Āṣaf al-lughāt* and other works.]

1046. Other works :

(1) Account, in florid and laudatory terms, of the death of Nawwāb Afdal al-Daulah Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf-Jāh on 13 Dhū



'l-Qa'dah 1285/25 Feb. 1869 and of the accession of Mīr Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān, by Ghulām Zain al-'Ābidīn (cf. p. 739) : **Ivanow** Curzon 45 ii (19th cent.).

(2) *Afdal-nāmah*, a biography of Nawwāb Nāṣir al-Daulah, by S. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, commonly called ('urf) Shāh Raḥīm Allāh Qādirī : **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 92 no. 1374.

(3) *Kaifīyat i aḥwāl i Dābiṭ-ḥang Mubārīz al-Mulk* (an *amīr* in the time of Nizām-'Alī Khān) : **Ethé** 527 (10).

(4) *Kaifīyat i aḥwāl i Tēgh-ḥang Bahādur* : **Ethé** 527 (7).

(5) *Kaifīyat i Nawwāb Ḥaidar-ḥang Bahādur* : **Ethé** 527 (15).

(6) *Kaifīyat i Mūsī Bhūshī* (i.e. presumably Monsieur Bussy, for whom see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* p. 64) : **Ethé** 527 (11).

(7) *Madḥ i Abū 'l-Mansūr Sikandar-ḥāh*, a panegyric on Sikandar-Jah (Nizām of Ḥaidarābād 1218/1803–1244/1829) in mixed prose and verse, by Ghulām-Ridā Khān : **Browne** 303.

(8) *Tārīkh i binā i Ḥaidarābād* : **Āṣafīyah** i p. 222 no. 652.

(9) *Tārīkh i mukhtaṣar i Ḥaidarābād*, translated from an English original by M. Farīd al-Dīn Khān, entitled (*al-mukhāṭab bah*) Nawwāb Farīd-Nawāz-Jang, son of Nawwāb Sultān al-Mulk Bahādur.

Edition : place ? (Ḥaidarābād presumably) 1335/1916–17 (see **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 98 no. 1342).

(10) *Tārīkh i rāḥat-afzā*,<sup>1</sup> written by M. 'Alī b. M. Ṣādiq al-Ḥusainī at the request of Nawwāb Mīr Najaf 'Alī Khān Shamsḥēr-Jang : **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 96 nos. 1313 (A.H. 1185/1771–2), 1001 (A.H. 1298/1881).

(11) *Waqā'i' i shūrish i Afghānīyah*, a short account of a rising of Maḥdawī Afghāns at Ḥaidarābād in 1237/1821–2, by Brij Nāth [Vraja-Nātha] Khayāl : **Lahore** Panjāb Univ. Lib. (Samwat 1909/A.D. 1852–3. See *Oriental College Magazine*, vol. ii, no. 4 (Lahore, August 1926), p. 60).

<sup>1</sup> The subject of this history is not stated in the **Āṣafīyah** catalogue. It is included here on the chance that it relates to Ḥaidarābād.



## M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (qq) THE MARĀṬ'HĀS

1047. At present unidentified is the Persian original of the *Translation of an account, of the Morattas, from the reign of Shaw Jehan, to the beginning of that of Shaw Allum, from a Persian MS. obtained at Allahabad, January 1769* (in A. Dalrymple's *Oriental Repertory*, vol. i (London 1793°) pp. 403-18).

1048. Between A.D. 1773 and A.D. 1777 an anonymous Hindu compiled the

*Tafṣīl i aḥwāl i 'urūj u khurūj i rājahā u sardārān i Dak'han*, a history of the Marāṭ'hās to the death of Sīvājī and the accession of his son Sambhājī A.D. 1680 (beg. *Hazārān shukr Khudāy i bī-chūn rā*): **Rieu** i 327b (18th cent.), **Ethé** 485 (n.d.), 490 (4) (n.d.).

1049. It was in 1190/1776-7<sup>1</sup> that Munshī **Husām al-Dīn** wrote

*Sharḥ i aḥwāl i Marhaṭṭah dar zamān i sābiq u ḥāl bar sabīl i ijmāl*,<sup>2</sup> a short (13 foll.) account of the Marāṭ'hās from Shivājī to the death of Narāyan (A.H. 1188/1774) (beg. *Awwal kasī kih bar sar i qaum i Marhattah nāmwar u mashhūr gardīdah Sīwā walad i Sanbhā etc.*): **Rieu** ii 861a (19th cent.).

Edition with English translation: *A short account of the Marratta State. Written in Persian by a Munshy that accompanied Colonel Upton on his embassy to Poonah.—Translated by William Chambers . . .* (in *The Asiatick miscellany*, vol. i (Calcutta 1785\*), pp. 212-49).

1050. Probably in 1776 or soon after was compiled

*An account of the Marat'hā Pēshwās* from the appointment of Bājī Rāō down to the negotiations of Rag'hūnāt'h

<sup>1</sup> This is an inference drawn by Rieu from the fact that Narāyan Rāō's son, Mād'hau Rāō, who was born A.H. 1188, is spoken of as a child two years old.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Persian title given to the work in the *Asiatick miscellany*.



with Col. Upton at Purand'har in 1776 (beginning *Mād'hau Rāō pīsar i Nārāyan Rāō walad i Bālā Rāō*) : **Rieu** ii 801b.

1051. Not later than 1782 was written

*Anonymous history of the Marāṭ'hās to the Battle of Pānīpat* (beginning : *Wīsōjī Pant kih jadd i sīwūm i Bālājī Rāō Pēshwā būd naukar i Yāqūt Khān Habashī Shāhib i Rājpurī būd*) : **Glasgow**<sup>1</sup> (see *JRAS.* 1906, p. 597, no. 6).

English translation : *A short historical narrative of the rise and rapid advancement of the Mahrattah State, to the present strength and consequence it has acquired in the East. Written originally in Persian ; and translated into English by an Officer in the East India Company's service [James Kerr], London 1782\*.*

1052. At present unidentified is the Persian original of the extract published in *The Asiatic Annual Register* . . . Vol. xii. —*For the Year 1810-11. By E. Samuel, London 1812\**, pp. 421-5, under the title *Translated Extracts of a Persian Manuscript entitled Memorandums and Recent Anecdotes of the Southern Courts of Hindoostan, by a Mussulman Observer, in the year 1195-6 Hegree, A.D. 1781-2* (beginning : *The Mahrattas of all the infidel tribes of Hindoostan, are best known to the Islaamites*).

1053. In 1197/1783 was compiled

*An account of the Marāṭ'hā empire* (beginning *Mahārājah Rājah Sāhū Bhōnslah dar Satārah sukūnat dāsht*) : **Rieu** ii 801b (18th cent.).

1054. Nawwāb Amīn al-Daulah 'Azīz al-Mulk 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Naṣīr-Jang has already been mentioned (pp. 700-2 *supra*) as the author of an account of Rājah Chait Sing's rebellion.

*History of the Marāṭ'hā wars in Hindūstān* from 1171/1757-8 to 1199/1784-5, especially Visvāsa Rāō's attempt to

<sup>1</sup> "The history is preceded by a list of the Mogul Emperors and their sons and by four folios containing an account of Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, the wazīr of Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II."



seize the throne of the Tīmūrīds, completed at Benares in 1201/1786-7: **Berlin** 15 (4) (A.H. 1204/1790), **I.O.** 3957 (late 18th or early 19th cent.), 4033 (A.D. 1896), **Ethé** 491 (defective at end and damaged. Not later than A.D. 1818), **Rieu** i 328a (A.H. 1229/1814), 328a (early 19th cent.), iii 968b (circ. A.D. 1850), 969a (circ. A.D. 1850), **Lindesiana** p. 121 no. 452 (" *Aḥwāl i jang i Marhattah* "). A.D. 1863), **Ivanow** Curzon 47 (19th cent.).

English translation by Major A. R. Fuller: **B.M.** MS. Add. 30,784.

Description and 40 pp. of extracts from Fuller's translation (nearly the whole work apart from the account of the Battle of Pānīpat): Elliot and Dowson *History of India* viii pp. 257-97.

Urdu translation: *Tawārīkh i Marhattah u Shāh i Abdālī* [called in the colophon *Tārīkh i Marhattah*. Written in 1209/1794-5 by S. M. Mahdī Tabātabā for Sh. Muḥammad-Bakhsh, Printer, of Gāō G'hāt]. Edition: Maṭba' i Aḥmadī [**Benares**? 1794-5 ? \*].

Extract: *Waqā'i' i jang i Aḥmad Shāh i Abdālī bā Wiswās Rāō etc.*, the account of the Battle of Pānīpat extracted from 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān's work at the request of the Governor-General Lord Cornwallis by Munshī M. Muḥsin al-Dīn, who was for seven years Governor of Benares in the time of Lord Cornwallis (1786-93 and 1805) and who added some information from his own experiences during the Marāṭhā war: **Bodleian** ii 2355.

1055. It was for Captain (afterwards Sir) John Kennaway (the first Resident at Haidarābād, 1788-94) that an anonymous author wrote

*A history of the Poona State* from the reign of Narāyan Rāō (A.D. 1773) to the peace of 1787 between the Pēshwā and Tipū Sultān (beg. *Sawāniḥ i mamlakat i Dakhan*): **Rieu** i 328a (early 19th cent.).

1056. **Lachhmi** Narāyan "**Shafiq**" Aurangābādī (see pp. 476-8).

*Bisāt al-ghanā'im*, a history of the Marāṭhās to their defeat by Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī at Pānīpat in 1174/1761, written at the request of Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm and



completed in 1214/1799 : **Rieu** i 328b (circ. A.D. 1799), 329b (A.H. 1215/1801), **Āṣafīyah** i p. 220 nos. 282 (A.H. 1297/1880), 343 (A.H. 1204/1789-90), **Ethé** ii 3018, **Rehatsek** p. 73 no. 10.

Edition (Persian text or Urdu translation ?) : place ? 1322/1904-5 (**Āṣafīyah** i p. 220 no. 921).

Urdu translation (?) : *Bisāt al-ghanā'im* [described as "A history of the Marhattas in Urdu" by **Ghulām Ṣamdānī Khān** Gauhar without mention of **Lachhmī Narāyan**], **Nizām al-maṭābi'**, **Ḥaidarābād** (see **Ḥaidarābād** Coll. p. 27, where the date is not specified).

1057. It was by order of the British Resident that **Sītā-Rām**, the *Akḥbār-nawīs*, translated from Marāt'hī originals and completed in July 1824 the work which in the B.M. MS. has the heading—

*Tarjamah i kaifiyat i nasab-nāmah i Rājah i Satārah-wālah qaum Marhattah Bhōslah*, a history of the Marāt'hās to the reinstatement of **Bājī Rāō** by Wellesley in May 1803 : **Rieu** i 329b (A.D. 1824).

1058. For the *Makhzan al-futūḥ* of **Bhagwān-Dās Shīvpūrī** see p. 644 *supra*.

1059. **Wājid 'Alī Khān**, a grandson of **Nawwāb 'Alī Mardān Khān**, left **Ḥaidarābād** in the time of **Sikandar-Jāh** (acc. 1218/1803, d. 1244/1829) and went to Poonah, where he entered the service of **Bājī Rāō**. After serving him for four years and taking an active part in his wars against the British he returned home.

*Gulshan i jang*, a history of **Bājī Rāō's** wars against the British from 1230/1815 to 1233/1818 : **Rieu** iii 969 (19th cent.).

1060. **Ṣafdar 'Alī Shāh "Munṣif"** was, according to **W. Erskine** (see **Rieu** ii 725a), originally named **M. Muḥyi al-Dīn** but changed his name on renouncing the world just as his father **Muzaffar-Jang** had taken the name of **Qalandar 'Alī Shāh**. He belonged apparently to a noble family of the **Nizām's** Dominions, but that he lived for a time at least in **Bombay** may be inferred



from the eulogies of W. Erskine, his special patron, and Dr. [John] Taylor, who had restored him to health, which occur in the *Jirjīs i razm*.

*Jirjīs i razm*, a *mathnawī* on the wars of General Wellesley against Ṭipū Sultān (A.D. 1799–1802) and the Marāṭhās (A.D. 1803): **Rieu** ii 725*a* (autograph, A.H. 1229/1814).

Continuation (on the war with Hōlkar, A.D. 1804): **Rieu** ii 725*b* (autograph).

Further continuation (on the Bharatpūr campaign, A.D. 1804–5): **Rieu** ii 726*a* (autograph).

1061. Of unknown authorship is

*Muntakhab i tawārīkh i khānadān i Bhōnslah Rājahā-yi Nāgpūr*, annals of the Bhōslah rājahs of Nāgpūr from A.D. 1659 to A.D. 1818 compiled from seven Persian and twenty-five Marāṭhī sources in December 1823 for Richard Jenkins, British Resident at Nāgpūr: **Ethé** 489.

1062. Other works:

(1) *Aḥwāl i Bhāō Marhaṭṭah u sabab i āmadan i ū ba-Hindūstān u kushtah shudān i ū bā tamām i hamrāhi-yān dar muḥārabah i Aḥmad Shāh i Abdālī bah ḥudūd i Pānīpat*: **Ethé** 527 (12 and 13. Circ. A.D. 1808 (?)).

(2) *Aḥwāl i ḥasab u nasab i Janūbiyān u kaifiyat i auj u ḥashmat i ān-hā* (the opening words) or, as in the colophon, *Aḥwāl i āmadan i Marhattah-hā dar Hindūstān*: **I.O.** 3959*a* (A.D. 1794), **Ethé** 488 (n.d.).

(3) *Aḥwāl i Rag'hunāt'h Rāō*: **Ethé** 527 (4) (foll. 39*a*–41*b*, a few pages relating to the year 1187).

(4) *Dhikr i aḥwāl u ibtidā i binā i fasād i Sīwā i bad-nihād* etc., a chronicle of the Bhōslah family from its origin to the operations against Rājah Rām after the capture of his capital Rāygarh in 1101/1689–90 or 1102/1690–1: **Ethé** 486 (incomplete).

(5) Extracts relating to the Marāṭhās from the *Khizānah i āmirah*, the *Ālamgīr-nāmah*, the *Tārīkh i Rōhēlah* (author not



stated) followed by the history of the Marāṭ'hās mentioned on p. 760 *supra* : **Ethé** 490 (quite modern), **Ivanow** 198 (late 19th cent.).

(6) *Ḥaḡīqat i binā u 'urūj i daulat i rājahā i Satārah*, a short history (8 foll.) of the Rājahs of Satārah from the origin of the family to the time of Rām Rājah, when the government became vested in the Pēshwā : **R.A.S.** P. 69 (4) = Morley 79, P. 69 (5) = Morley 80.

(7) A history, incomplete and unidiomatic, of the rise of the Bhōslah family probably translated from a Marāṭ'hī chronicle by a certain Daulat Sing'h, who is described as the author in an inscription on the fly-leaf : **Ethé** 487.

(8) *Shammah-i az aḥwāl i Marhattah Siwā-jī Rājah Satārā-wālah*, as it is inappropriately headed, a very brief account of events from the accession of Bājī Rāō II to the end of his reign, by Mīr Badr al-Dīn, a resident of Chichōnd (near Aḥmadnagar) : **Bombay Univ.** 160 (probably autograph).

(9) A short account (5 foll.) of Mād'hau Rāō Pēshwā, comprising the events which took place between 1174/1760 and 1187/1773 : **R.A.S.** P. 69 (6) = Morley 82.

For works relating to the Battle of Pānīpat see also pp. 398-9 and 620-1 *supra*.

#### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (rr) BĀLĀ-G'HĀṬ

1063. Mīr Ḥusain 'Alī Khān b. S. 'Abd al-Qādir Kirmānī, the author of the *Nishān i Haidarī* (see p. 774) and the *Badī' al-ma'ānī*, a life of the saint Bābā Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥusainī, was successively in the service of Haidar 'Alī, the ruler of Mysore (d. 1782), his son Ṭīpū Sultān (d. 1799) and Lieut.-Col. Colin Mackenzie (for whom see Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography*, p. 263).

*Tadhkirat al-bilād wa-'l-ḥukkām*, a history of some of the Bālā-g'hāṭ principalities to 1215/1800-1, the date of completion, in twelve *aurangs*, viz. (1) Penukonda (Anantapur District, Madras) and Bijainagar (Vijayanagar) or Ānīgundī (Anagundi).



(2) Sarā (in Mysore), (3) Ad'hōnī (Bellārī Dist., Madrās), (4) Afghāns of Sāvanūr (D'hārwar Dist., Bombay), (5) Khāns of Karapah ("Cuddapah", Madrās), (6) Kandanūl (Karnūl, Madrās), (7) Pāligārs ("Poligars") of Harpanahalli (Bellārī Dist., Madrās), (8) Rāidrug (Bellārī Dist.), (9) Bālāpūr (Mysore), (10) Kinchan Gaddah (Bellārī Dist.), (11) Gutī (Bellārī Dist.), (12) Sirhatti (Sānglī Dist., Bombay): **Rieu** i 331 (early 19th cent.), **I.O.** 3744 (early 19th cent.).

English translation of *Aurang* 4: *An historical sketch of the Patan Principality of Shānoor* (in W. Kirkpatrick's *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London 1811\*, Appendix D (pp. xi-xxxii)).

English translations, or summaries, of *Aurang* 6 (Karnūl) and *Aurang* 12 (Sirhatti): *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan . . .*, Appendix G (pp. li-lxii) and note 19 at the foot of pp. xviii-xx.

1064. Munshī M. 'Aẓīm al-Dīn b. M. Faīd al-Dīn DLWY,<sup>1</sup> a native of Arkāt (Arcot), was for fifteen years in the service of the East India Company as *munshī* to Saiyid Diyā' al-Dīn Principal Ṣadr Amīn (Chief Indian judge) at Sirsī (Kānara Dist.). He then went to Sāvanūr (an Indian State of circ. 70 square miles in the D'hārwar District of the Bombay Presidency), and entered the service of the ruling Nawwāb Dilēr Khān Bahādur Dilēr-Jang (acc. 1834, d. 1862), at whose request he wrote the

*Tārīkh i Dilēr-Jangī*, a history of the Sāvanūr State completed in 1262/1846.

Edition: Jāmi' al-akhbār Press [**Madras**<sup>2</sup>] 1262-3/1847\*.

1065. Other works:

(1) *Aḥwāl-nāmah i Karnūl*: **Ethé** 527 (3) (foll. 23a-38a).

<sup>1</sup> This is probably Dalawī. Cf. Wahīd Mīrzā *The life and works of Amīr Khusrau* p. 102, where it is said that the Rājah of Tilang sent "his 'dalawī' or commander" to help Malik Kāfūr's army and where the word is explained in a note as being "From Karn [sic, apparently meaning Kanarese] dal = an army" and meaning "a commander-in-chief and hence the prime-minister under the Hindu rulers of Mysore (cf. Aiyangar, p. 92)".

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arberry's I.O. catalogue of Persian books pp. 97, 391.



M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (ss) MYSORE

1066. An anonymous author (Munshī Amīr, according to a note on the fly-leaf of Ethé 516), who after serving for two years under Captain (afterwards Sir) John Kennaway left his service on the last day of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1196/6 Nov. 1782 and then returned to Haidarābād, wrote

(*Qissah i Haidar 'Alī Khān*), a history of Haidar 'Alī to 1196/1782 (beg. *Sitāyish i Nāsirī*) : Rieu iii 1033a (circ. A.D. 1850), Ethé 516 (n.d.).

1067. In 1196/1782 an anonymous author wrote

*Aḥwāl i Nawwāb Haidar 'Alī Khān Bahādur* (beginning : *Chū in tāzah-tar nihālist*), a history of Haidar 'Alī Khān from his birth to 1196/1782 completed with a brief statement concerning his death on 1 Muḥarram 1197/7 Dec. 1782 : Rieu ii 802a (18th cent.).

1068. Lālah Bud Sing'h "Munshī", possibly identical with Bud'h Sing'h K'hatri, who wrote the *Risālah i Nānak Shāh* (see p. 666 *supra*), spent three years in the compilation of his *Tawārīkh i Haidarī*, probably soon after Haidar 'Alī's death.

*Tawārīkh i Haidarī*, a life of Haidar 'Alī Khān from his birth in 1125/1713 [so] to his death and the accession of Ṭipū Sultān in 1197/1782 : Ethé 518 (A.H. 1217/1802), 519 (n.d.), 520 (fragment only).

1069. At the request of Richard Johnson<sup>1</sup> an anonymous author wrote his

*Aḥwāl i Haidar 'Alī Khān* (beg. : *Bar šūrat-nawīsān*), a life of Haidar 'Alī in nine *bābs* compiled in 1199/1784-5 : Ethé 517 (autograph, A.H. 1199/1785).

1070. Ṭipū Sultān was born at Devanhalli on the 20th of Dhū

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Richard Johnson see an article by Sir T. Arnold in *Rupam*, no. 6 (Calcutta, April 1921).



'l-Hijjah 1163/20 Nov. 1750.<sup>1</sup> At the death of his father, Haidar 'Alī Khān, on 7 Dec. 1782 he became ruler of Mysore and continued the war which his father had been waging against the British. Having defeated General Matthews at Bednūr and forced Colonel Campbell to surrender after a prolonged siege at Mangalore in 1783, he made peace in 1784. Soon afterwards he sent an embassy to the Sublime Porte in the vain hope of enlisting the Ottoman Sultān's support against the British.<sup>2</sup> In 1786 he assumed the title of *Pādshāh*. In the same year his territory was invaded jointly by the Marāṭ'hās and by a contingent from Haidarābād. After some successes against them he made peace early in 1787. In this year he sent an embassy to Paris, but he obtained only empty promises of future support. In December 1789 he invaded Travancore. In February 1792 he was besieged in Seringapatam by Lord Cornwallis, and agreed to cede half of his dominions, pay an indemnity and surrender two of his sons as hostages. In 1797 he renewed his efforts to obtain help from the French and sent envoys to Mauritius. This action, together with other evidences of hostile intention, caused Lord Mornington, who became Governor-General in 1798, to declare war. In March 1799 Tīpū was defeated at Malvalli by General Harris and on the 4th of May he was killed in the course of General Baird's storm of Seringapatam.

A report on the correspondence and other documents found

<sup>1</sup> *Nishān i Haidarī* p. 19<sup>17-18</sup>. Other dates are given elsewhere, e.g. 1749 (Stewart) and 1753 (Bowring). Kirkpatrick says "In a loose paper in my possession, containing directions for the military salutes on various occasions<sup>(1\*)</sup>, [Footnote "(1\*) I have since met with the same regulations in the *Futhūl Mūjāhideen*"] there is a note, or memorandum, purporting, that the *Sultan* was born on the 14th of Tūlooey of the year of the *Higera* 1165" (*Select letters* p. 217, where the 14th of Tūlooey [i.e. *Tulū'ī*, the 9th month in Tīpū's first reformed calendar] in a solar year corresponding to 1785 is equated with the 20th of December).

<sup>2</sup> For the diary of Ghulām-'Alī Khān, an envoy who travelled to Istānbūl in 1200-1, see Ivanow 1678 (*Waqā'i' i manāzil i Rūm*). A report by Tīpū's envoys to Haidarābād dated 1217 Maulūdī and dealing chiefly with the expenses incurred on the journey is also preserved at Calcutta (Ivanow 1680, *Rūz-nāmah i wukalā i Haidarābād*).



in the palace at Seringapatam was submitted to the Governor-General on 27 July 1799 by Colonel William Kirkpatrick, and is printed, almost in full, on pp. 180–95 of Lt.-Col. A. Beatson's *View of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultaun* (London 1800\*). From the mass of these papers certain documents were selected by the Governor-General for examination by N. B. Edmonstone, the Persian Translator to the Government (for whom see Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian biography*, p. 132), and were published in translation (with the text of the French, but not the Persian, documents) in a volume entitled *Official documents, relative to the negotiations carried on by Tippoo Sultaun, with the French nation, and other foreign states, for purposes hostile to the British nation ; to which is added, Proceedings of a Jacobin club, formed at Seringapatam, by the French soldiers in the corps commanded by M. Dompant : with a translation . . .* (Calcutta : printed at the Honorable Company's Press. 1799\*).<sup>1</sup> Some of the translations reappear in *Copies and extracts of advices to and from India, relative to the cause, progress, and successful termination of the war with the late Tippoo Sultaun, Chief of Mysore ; the partition of his dominions in consequence thereof ; and the distribution of the captured property found in Seringapatam. Printed for the use of the proprietors of East-India Stock, [London ?] 1800\*,<sup>2</sup> and in the appendix to the afore-*

<sup>1</sup> In the same year (before the Calcutta publication ?) appeared at Fort St. George [Madras] a volume of which there is a copy in the British Museum (see Edwards col. 577), but not in the India Office Library, and which bears on the title-page the words *Copies and translations of official documents relative to the negotiations carried on by Tippoo Sultaun with the French nation and other foreign states . . . prior to the commencement of the war between the English and that prince in Feb. 1799 . . . Fort St. George 1799*. This cannot differ much from the Calcutta publication.

<sup>2</sup> Almost identical with the documents contained in this publication are those printed in *The Asiatic Annual Register . . . for the year 1799* (2nd ed. London 1801\*), State papers, pp. 41–100 (Heading : *Papers presented to the House of Commons, relating to the late War in the East Indies with Tippoo Sultaun. (Ordered to be printed 26th September 1799)*), and, Supplement to the state papers, pp. 201–300.



mentioned work of Lt.-Col. Beatson. An unofficial second edition<sup>1</sup> of the Fort St. George publication mentioned in the note on this the previous page is *A review of the origin, progress, and result of the decisive war with the late Tippoo Sultaun, in Mysore : with notes ; by James Salmond, Esq. of the Bengal military establishment. To which are added, Some account of Zemaun Shah—The Proceedings of a Jacobin Club, formed at Seringapatam—Official advices to India on the subject of the War—An abstract of the forces employed—Letters from Generals Stewart and Harris, containing the accounts of the engagements on the 6th March and 7th May 1779 ; and Major General Baird's Report of the storming of Seringapatam ;—And an appendix, containing translations of the principal state papers found in the Cabinet of Tippoo Sultaun ; and other important official papers . . .* (London 1800\*. Pp. xxxii, 88 : Appendix, pp. 300, unpaginated).

The letters and other documents mentioned above are quite different from the *Select letters* translated by W. Kirkpatrick (see below).

(1) *Tārīkh i khudā-dādī*,<sup>2</sup> a brief autobiography extending to the termination of the Marāṭ'hā War, i.e. Feb. 1787, which “evidently formed, as far as it went, the ground-work of the

<sup>1</sup> On p. xix is a “preface to second edition”, which begins as follows : “Several very important Papers on the subject of the Mysore War having been received from India since the publication of the Quarto edition of this Work, and others then published having by means of the Papers printed for the use of the Proprietors of India Stock, and through the medium of the public prints, been since very generally communicated, it is presumed that a new edition, in the present form, will not be unacceptable to the Public. Such documents antecedent to the capture of Seringapatam, as are already sufficiently known, have been omitted. The orthography of the whole of the original French Papers is so extremely incorrect, that the authenticated Translations only are preserved in this edition. With this exception, all the Papers found in the Palace of Seringapatam, which were originally published by the Authority of the Governor General in Council at Madras, have been republished.”

<sup>2</sup> This title, not mentioned by Ethé, is recorded by Kirkpatrick, *Select letters*, preface p. xviii : “The copy with which that gentleman” [i.e. Colonel Ogg] “favored me was entitled *Tareekhe Khodādādy*, i.e. the *Khodādādy Annals*, or *History of the Khodādād Sircar*.” *Sarkār i Khudā-dād* was the official title of Tipū Sultān's government and was, for example, stamped on the bindings of books belonging to his library.



more diffuse and elaborate history of Zynûl Aabideen Shoosty . . .” (Kirkpatrick): **Ethé** 2990 (45 foll., defective at both ends.<sup>1</sup> See also W. Kirkpatrick’s account of this MS. in his *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London 1811, preface, pp. xvii–xviii).

Translated extracts (amounting to “a considerable portion” of the whole): *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan . . . arranged and translated by W. Kirkpatrick*, London 1811, pp. 18–21, 57–9, 147, 202–7, 325–32, 374–5, 387–90, 410–11, 425–31, 476–83, and appendix pp. iii–xi.

(2) **Letters** (see also pp. 768–70 above): **Ethé** 525 (vol. i only, covering the years 1198–1201/1784–7 and containing all the letters of which translations were published in the *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan* as well as more than 600 others. A.D. 1800).

English translation of selections: *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan . . . arranged and translated by William Kirkpatrick . . . London 1811*<sup>o\*</sup>.

(3) *Register of Tipû Sultân’s dreams with their interpretations*: **Ethé** 3001 (autograph. Cf. Beatson, *op. cit. infra*, pp. 196–7).

English translation of six dreams: *A view of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultaun . . . by Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Beatson*, **London** 1800\*, appendix, pp. cix–cxiii.

Various official manuals and collections of documents relating to the administration of Mysore in Tipû’s time have been preserved.<sup>2</sup> They include (1) *hukm-nāmahs*, instructions and regulations intended for different departments and officials, **Ivanow** 1645–9, 1676–7, 1679, 1681, 1684–93, **Berlin** 68 (3), 68a, 516, 531 (11), 531 (25), **Ethé** 526, **R.A.S.** P. 167–70, (2) *Dawābit i sultānī*, regulations for the proper shape and form of royal insignia, the orbs or disks at the top of banners, seals, official

<sup>1</sup> The first three pages, accidentally destroyed while the MS. was in Col. Kirkpatrick’s possession, “were occupied chiefly with an account of the Sultan’s ancestors.”

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Government and administrative system of Tipu Sultan by Surath Charan Sen Gupta* (in the *Journal of the Department of Letters* (University of Calcutta), vol. xix (Calcutta 1929)).



signatures, etc., **Ethé** 2761, 2762 (a portion only. Dated 1226 Maulūdī<sup>1</sup>), **Ivanow** 1642 (probably the same portion as **Ethé** 2762), (3) (*Risālah i padak-hā*), on medals, decorations, flag-tops, seals, brands, etc., **Ivanow** 1640, 1641, (4) "A description of the Seals, Flags, Standards,<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions, etc. used by Tipū Sultān" (perhaps identical with (2) or (3) above), **R.A.S.** P. 171, (5) various other documents, **Ivanow** 1643, 1682-3, **R.A.S.** P. 88 = Morley 78, P. 172.

A manuscript of this kind must be the original of *The Mysorean Revenue Regulations*. Translated by B. Crisp from the original Persian, under the seal of Tippoo Sultaun (Calcutta 1792°). For the *Fath al-mujāhidīn* which contains regulations for Tipū's army see p. 773 *infra*.

[*Biographical Anecdotes of the late Tippoo Sultaun ; together with an Account of his Revenues, Establishment of his Troops, etc. Taken from the information of one of Tippoo's Officers, written in the year 1790 and Translated from the Persian by Capt. J. A. Kirkpatrick* (in *The Asiatic Annual Register . . . for the Year 1799* (2nd ed., London 1801\*), Characters, pp. 1-5); Lt.-Col. A. Beatson *A view of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sultaun . . .*, London 1800 (portrait frontispiece); C. Stewart *Memoirs of Futteh Aly Khan Tippoo Sultan* (in C. Stewart *A descriptive catalogue of the oriental library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore*, Cambridge 1809, pp. (43)-(94)); M. Wilks *Historical sketches of the South of India, in an attempt to trace the history of Mysoor*, London 1810-17, 2nd ed. Madras 1869; Lewin B. Bowring *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Oxford 1893 (Rulers of India series); Buckland *Dictionary of Indian biography* pp. 424-5; *Ency. Isl.* under Tipū Sultān (Haig), and many other works.]

<sup>1</sup> For the Maulūdī era (an era of solar years from Muhammad's birth) introduced by Tipū see J. R. Henderson *Coins of Haidar Ali and Tipū Sultān*, Madras 1921, p. 9 seqq. The account given by Kirkpatrick in his *Select letters*, pp. xxvi-xxxvii, needs correction in the light of Henderson's statements.

<sup>2</sup> For reproductions of tracings of two such standards preserved in the Chapel of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, see an article by T. Grahame Bailey in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. ii, pt. 3 (1922) pp. 549-54 (cf. vol. ii, pt. 4 (1923) p. 833).



1071. A certain **Ghulām-Ḥasan**<sup>1</sup> wrote at Ṭipū's request and completed in 1198/1784 his

*Ṭipū-nāmah* or *Fath-nāmah i Ṭipū Sultān*, a *mathnawī* in 49 *dāstāns* on Ṭipū's wars : **Ethé** 1719 (A.H. 1221/1807), 1720 (n.d.), 1721 (n.d.).

1072. S. **Zain al-‘ābidīn** b. S. Raḍī [al-Dīn] Mūsawī **Shūshtarī** was a younger brother of Mīr-‘Ālam (for whom see pp. 750–2 *supra*). According to S. Ḥusain Bilgrāmī, *A memoir of Sir Salar Jung*, Bombay 1883, p. 10, he “left Haidarabad at an early age, and resided for the rest of his life at Tipu's court”. According to Sprenger (*Catalogue . . . of the libraries of the King of Oudh*, p. 591) “He lived long at Madras and was in the service of Nawāb Āṣaf-jāh, subsequently he went to Balāghāt [sic] and entered the service of Ḥaydar ‘alyy Khān, and finally he became a courtier of Typū Sultān, . . . He died at Ḥaydarābād (Subḥe waṭn, p. 105).” According to H. G. Briggs, *The Nizam* vol. i, London 1861, p. 141, he died at Seringapatam during the siege in 1799.

His best-known work, written A.H. 1197/1783 at Ṭipū Sultān's request and under his supervision, is the *Fath al-mujāhidīn* which contains rules and regulations for Ṭipū's army (see Bodleian 1903, **Ethé** 2738–59, Rieu Suppt. 406). At the request of Ṭipū Sultān he wrote also the *Mu‘aiyid al-mujāhidīn*, a collection of metrical *khutbahs* (see **Ethé** 2619, Ivanow 882–3, Sprenger 571).

*Sultān al-tawārīkh*, a florid history of the Sultāns of Mysore elaborated from materials dictated by Ṭipū himself and divided into two *daftars* ((1) *Fath Nā‘ik* and Ḥaidar ‘Alī. (2) Ṭipū's reign to A.D. 1789) : **Ethé** 521 (apparently imperfect).

Description : *Historical sketches of the South of India, in an attempt to trace the history of Mysoor . . . By Lieut.-Col. Mark Wilks*, vol. i, London 1810, pp. xix–xxv.

[W. Kirkpatrick *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London 1811, p. 163–4 ; *Subḥ i waṭan* p. 105 ; Sprenger 571.]

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no good ground for Garcin de Tassy's identification of this author with Ḥusain ‘Alī Khān Kirmānī.



1073. A certain **Ḥamīd Khān** who accompanied Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, in his campaign against Ṭipū Sultān (Dec. 1790–Feb. 1792) wrote—

*Tārīkh i Ḥamīd Khān*,<sup>1</sup> a history of Ḥaidar ‘Alī and Ṭipū Sultān down to the peace of 1206/1792: **Bānkipūr** vii 619 (19th cent.).

1074. The *Nasab-nāmah i rājahā i Maisūr* was originally written in Canarese. By order of Ṭipū Sultān two Persian translations were made in 1212/1798 by Asad Anwar and Ghulām-Ḥusain. One of these is the work described below.

*Nasab-nāmah* (or *Fihrist*, or *Aḥwāl*) *i rājahā i Maisūr u Nagar*, a list of the rulers of Mysore from the time of Timmarāj to that of Ḥaidar ‘Alī, with the dates of their birth, the names of their wives and children and the countries over which they ruled: **R.A.S.** P. 86 = Morley 74, Morley 75, Morley 76, **Ethé** 514, 515, **Ivanow** 199 (19th cent.).

1075. Mīr Ḥusain ‘Alī **Khān** b. S. ‘Abd al-Qādir **Kirmānī**, the author of the *Tadhkirat al-bilād wa-l-ḥukkām*, which he completed in 1215/1800–1 (see p. 765), and of the *Badī‘ al-ma‘ānī*, a life of the saint Bābā Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥusainī, was in the service of Ḥaidar ‘Alī and his son Ṭipū Sultān.

*Nishān i Ḥaidarī*, a history of Ḥaidar ‘Alī and Ṭipū Sultān completed A.H. 1217/1802: **Browne** Pers. Cat. 105 (A.H. 1231/1816), **Ivanow** 200 (A.H. 1231/1816 ?), **Bānkipūr** Suppt. i 1775 (A.H. 1233/1817–18), **Āṣafiyah** i p. 258 no. 297 (A.H. 1299/1881–2), **Ethé** 522, 523, 524 (small fragment), **R.A.S.** P. 87 = Morley 77.

Edition: **Bombay** 1307/1890<sup>o</sup>\*

Translation: (a) *The History of Hyder Naik . . . Nawaub of the Karnatic Balaghaut . . . Translated . . . by Colonel W. Miles.*

<sup>1</sup> The “Humeed Khaney, by Humeed Khan, Moonshee to Lord Cornwallis in 1792” is among the authorities mentioned on p. 388 of *The History of Hyder Shah, alias Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur: and of his son, Tippoo Sultaun. By M. M. D. L. T. . . . Revised and corrected by H.H. Prince Gholam Mohammed* (London 1855).



London 1842°\* (Oriental Translation Fund). (b) *The History of the Reign of Tipū Sultān, being a continuation of the Neshani Hyduri ; . . . Translated . . . by Colonel W. Miles. London 1864°\* [sic., for 1844].*

1076. Not later than 1223/1808 was written

*A history of the Rājahs of Seringapatam and of Haidar 'Alī and Tipū to the latter's death in 1213/1799 (Dar dhikr i riyāsat i rājahā-yi Sīrang-Patan u Nawwāb Haidar 'Alī Khān Bahādur jannat-makān u ḥadrat i Tipū Sultān i shahīd etc., beginning Pas az ḥamd i Kirdgār i kārsāz rūzgār) : Oxford Ind. Inst. MS. Whinfield 62 (A.H. 1223/1808), Ethé 531 (foll. 57-112).*

1077. For Ṣāfdar 'Alī Shāh "Munṣif's" *Jirjīs i razm*, which contains a metrical account of Wellesley's campaign against Tipū Sultān, see p. 764 *supra*.

1078. Muḥammad Sultān (i.e. Prince M.), better known as H.H. Prince **Ghulām-Muḥammad**, one of the youngest of Tipū Sultān's twelve sons, was born in March 1795 and was therefore only four years old when his father was killed. With other sons of Tipū's he was removed from Seringapatam to Vellore. In 1806, after the Vellore Mutiny, he was transferred to Calcutta and there he lived the rest of his long life. Highly respected for his amiability, hospitality, charity and toleration, he was a favourite in official circles. He visited England in 1855 and again in 1859, when he persuaded the Secretary of State, Sir Charles Wood, to make a special grant to the Mysore family. In February 1871 he was made a K.C.S.I. Certain charities were founded by him in perpetuity for the poor of all races at Calcutta and in Mysore. He died at Rasapagla, near Calcutta, on 11 August 1872. He "revised and corrected" *The History of Hyder Shah, alias Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur : and of his son, Tippoo Sultaun. [Written in London 1784] By M. M. D. L. T. [i.e. M. M. de la Touche ?], General in the Army of the Mogul Empire, London 1855.*

The Mosque of Prince **Ghulām Muḥammad**, the finest mosque



in Calcutta, near the intersection of Dharamtola St. and Chowringhee, was erected by him "in gratitude to God, and in commemoration of the Honourable Court of Directors granting him the arrears of his stipend in 1840".

*Kārnāma i Hydary*, or *Memoirs of the brave and noble Hyder Shah*, surnamed *Hyder Ally Khān Bahādur*. To which is annexed a sketch of the history of his illustrious son, *Tippoo Sultan*. Compiled from the different works written by English, French, and Oriental authors. Calcutta 1848°\*.

Urdu translation by Ahmad 'Alī Gōpāmawī: *Ḥamalāt i Haidarī*, **Russapuglah** [i.e. Rasapagla, a southern suburb of Calcutta] 1849°\*.

[*Kār-nāmah i Haidarī* pp. 931-8 (portrait facing p. 935); *Correspondence and memorials of Prince Gholam Mahomed addressed to the Government of India and the Hon'ble Court of Directors* (in *Extracts from Capt. Colin Mackenzie's work regarding the dominions of the late Tippoo Sultan* 1854); *The Times* 20.3.1871 p. 6a, 11.9.1872 p. 6a, 19.9.1872 p. 10b; *The Englishman* (Calcutta) 13.8.1872 p. 2d; *The Indian Daily News* (Calcutta) 13.8.1872 p. 2d; *The Times of India* (Bombay) 14.8.1872 p. 2d; Lewin B. Bowring *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* pp. 10, 201.]

1079. Other works :

(1) Accounts of the events of A.H. 1197-1200/1783-6 : **Ethé** 528 (1-3).

(2) *Aḥwāl i rājah i Sōlāpūr u rājah i Srīrangpatan* : **Ethé** 527 (18).

(3) *Aḥwāl-nāmah i Haidar Nā'ik*, a very short biography of Haidar 'Alī (8 foll.) : **Ethé** 527 (1) (not later than A.D. 1808).

(4) History of *Tipu Sultan* and his court, by Munshī M. Qāsim : no MSS. recorded.

English translation : **I.O.** MSS. Eur. C. 10 pp. 203-25 (Kaye 291).

(5) Short account of Dhundia Wagh, or, as he is called here, D'hündū-jī Wāg'h, the famous freebooter of Mysore, who



was at last killed by the British in 1800 (see Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary* p. 120) : **Ethé** 859 (5).

(6) Short historical account of Seringapatam and its rājahs, their contests with Ḥaidar 'Alī and Ṭīpū Sultān and the final annexation of Mysore by the E.I.Co. (A.H. 1144/1731-2—1214/1799-1800) : **Ethé** 529.

(7) A similar work (*Kaifīyat i ri'āsat i Srī-Rang-Paṭṭan etc.*) : **Ethé** 530.

### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (II) COORG

1080. Of unknown authorship is

*Aḥwāl i mulk i Kurg*, a short account of the conquest of Coorg in 1187/1773-4 during Ḥaidar 'Alī's reign (beg. : *Qalam i raqam-sanj*) : **Ethé** 532.

1081. It was at the request of Mahārājah Vīra Rājendra Wodeyar (b. A.H. 1178/1764-5, acceded A.H. 1203/1788-9, deposed A.D. 1834) that **Ḥusain Khān Lōhānī**, one of his *munshīs*, began in 1211/1796-7 to translate from original Kanarese records his

*History of the Rājahs of Coorg* from A.H. 1047/1637-8 to A.H. 1222/1807 : **Rieu** i 333 (A.D. 1807), **Ethé** 533 (A.H. 1240/1824), **Ivanow** 201 (late 19th cent.).

### M. HISTORY OF INDIA : (III) THE CARNATIC

1082. **Jaswant Rāy** b. Bhagwant Rāy b. Sundardās "Munshī" was a *munshī* by profession and the son of a *munshī* born at Lahore. In 1118/1706-7 he went to the Carnatic and obtained the patronage of the Governor, Sa'adat Allāh Khān, the ancestor of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic, by composing a *qaṣīdah* in his praise. An autograph copy of his *dīwān* written A.H. 1124/1712 at Sarā in the province of Bījāpūr is in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (**Ivanow** 830, cf. **Ethé** 1695).



*Sa'id-nāmah*, a pompously written biography of Sa'adat Allāh Khān, entitled also M. Sa'id (properly M. 'Alī b. Aḥmad, d. 1145/1732, see *Ma'āthir al-umarā'* ii 513), from his birth in 1061/1651 to 16 Ramaḍān 1135/1723: **Rieu** i 331a (early 18th cent.), **Ethé** 500 (much shorter. Damaged. A.H. 1229/1814), 2843 (complete. A.H. 1265/1849).

[Autobiography near the beginning of the *Sa'id-nāmah*; Sprenger pp. 507, 508 (?); **Rieu** i 331; **Ethé** 500.]

1083. Mīr M. Ismā'il Khān "**Abjadi**" was born at Chingleput. He was the tutor (*ustād*) of the Nawwāb 'Umdat al-Umarā' (ruled A.H. 1210/1795–1216/1801). On finishing the *Anwar-nāmah* in 1174/1760–1 he was rewarded by the Nawwāb Wālā-Jāh (M. 'Alī 'Umdat al-Mulk, who ruled A.H. 1163/1750–1210/1795) with 6,700 rupees. In 1189/1775–6 he received the title of *Malik al-shu'arā'*.

For his Persian *dīwān* see *Āṣafīyah* i p. 716 no. 482, Ivanow 873, and *Nadhīr Aḥmad* 107 and for his Urdu *dīwān* Blumhardt's I.O. catalogue of Hindustani MSS. no. 137. A work of his entitled *Tuḥfah li-ṣibyān* is mentioned by Garcin de Tassy, who possessed a MS.

*Anwar-nāmah*, a *mathnawī* on the exploits of the Nawwāb Anwar al-Dīn Khān (d. 1162/1749) with a summary of events under his successor to the date of completion, A.H. 1174/1760–1: **Ivanow** 872 (A.H. 1176/1762–3), **As'ad** 2077 = **Tauer** 553 (A.H. 1242/1826), **Berlin** 973 (slightly defective), **Ethé** 1716 (n.d.), 2904 (n.d.).

[*Tūzūk i Wālā-Jāhī*, *muqaddimah* (see **Ethé** 501); *Subḥ i waṭan* 27–31; Sprenger nos. 64–5; Garcin de Tassy 98–9; Beale *Oriental biographical dictionary* p. 15.]

1084. Munshī **Burhān Khān** b. Ḥasan Hindī was commissioned in 1195/1781 by Nawwāb Wālā-Jāh 'Umdat al-Mulk (M. 'Alī, who ruled from 1162/1749 to 1210/1795) to compose [largely] on the basis of "Abjadi's" *Anwar-nāmah* (see § 1083 *supra*) a history of the rulers of the Carnatic from the time of their



ancestors in al-Madīnah<sup>1</sup> to his own time. He died on 27 Jumādā ii 1240/1825. For his *Ruqa'āt* see Āṣafīyah i p. 124.

*Tūzuk i Wālā-Jāhī*, a history of the Carnatic, especially of Anwar al-Dīn Khān [d. 1162/1749] and his son Wālā-Jāh, planned to consist of a *muqaddimah*, two *daftars* and a *khātimah*, but probably never continued beyond the first *daftar*: **Ethé** 501 (only the *Muqaddimah* (in praise of "Abjadī") and *Daftar i* (completed in 1200/1786 and extending to Clive's capture of Pondicherry in 1761). N.d.), **Madras** (ascribed to "Abjadī").

English translation: *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī of Burhān ibn Ḥasan. Translated . . . by S. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nainar . . . Part I. From the early days to the Battle of Ambur (1162 A.H.) . . . Madras 1934†, to be continued* (Madras University Islamic Series No. 1).

Description and summary: *Nawab Anwaru'd-din Khan of the Carnatic. From the Tuzuk-i-Walajahi of Burhanu'd-din. By C. S. Srinivasachari* (in *Indian Historical Records Commission. Proceedings of meetings. Vol. xiii, Calcutta 1932, pp. 121-9*).

[*Ḥadīqat al-marām* (in Arabic) p. 12.]

1085. An anonymous author (Sa'd-Allāh Khān? see **Ethé** 2844) completed in 1218/1803 his

*Waqā'i' i sa'ādat*, a short history of the Nawwābs of Arkāt (from Sa'ādat-Allāh Khān to Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān (d. 1155/1742)) and the Jāgirdārs of Vellore (from Ghulām-'Alī Khān to Ghulām-Murtadā Khān (d. 1176/1762-3)) in three *faṣls*: **Ethé** 2844 (lacks *Faṣl* iii), 2845 (with an appendix containing the history of Vellore to 1803).

1086. M. Karīm<sup>2</sup> Khair al-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām-Dāmin b. Iftikhār al-Daulah Ḥafīẓ M. Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām-Jang was born in 1194/1780, received the title of Ṣāhib al-Daulah Jalādat-Jang in 1210/1795-6, that of Khawrshēd al-Mulk in 1231/1816 and on his father's death in 1236/1820 that

<sup>1</sup> The Nawwābs of the Carnatic belonged to the Nā'itī tribe, who claim to be of Arab descent.

<sup>2</sup> The names M. Karīm are omitted by **Ethé**, but they are given by Nainar in his preface to the *Tūzuk i Wālā-Jāhī* p. xiii.



of Iftikhār al-Daulah M. Nāṣir Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām-Jang. In Rajab 1249/1833, when living at Madrās, he paid homage to 'Azīm-Jāh, the Regent, and was requested by him to write a history of his ancestor 'Umdat al-Umarā', as "Abjadī" had done for Anwar al-Dīn Khān in his *Anwar-nāmah* (see p. 778 *supra*). He therefore wrote the *Sawānīḥāt i mumtāz*, which he completed on 27 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1252/4 April 1837.

*Sawānīḥāt i mumtāz*, a history of the years 1209–16/1794–1801, i.e. the last year of Nawwāb Wālā-Jāh 'Umdat al-Mulk and the reign of 'Umdat al-Umarā' (A.D. 1795–1801), with a summary of later events under 'Azīm al-Daulah (A.D. 1801–19), 'Azīm-Jāh (A.D. 1820–25), A'zam-Jāh (1825) and Ghulām M. Ghauth (1825–55) under the regency of Nawwāb 'Azīm-Jāh, the first Prince of Arcot: **Ethé** 502 (A.H. 1266/1850), **Nadhīr Ahmad** 68 (A.H. 1281/1864–5. *Ahl i Islām Library*, Madras), probably also **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 100 no. 1299 ("Tuzuk i Wālā-Jāhī" written in 1249 by M. Karīm Khair al-Dīn Ḥasan Ghulām-Dāmin).

English translation: "has been finished, and will be issued" (presumably in the Madras University Islamic Series).

Description: *Tūzak-i-Wālājāhī* . . . Translated . . . by . . . Nainar . . . Part I, pp. xiii–xvii.

1087. Other works:

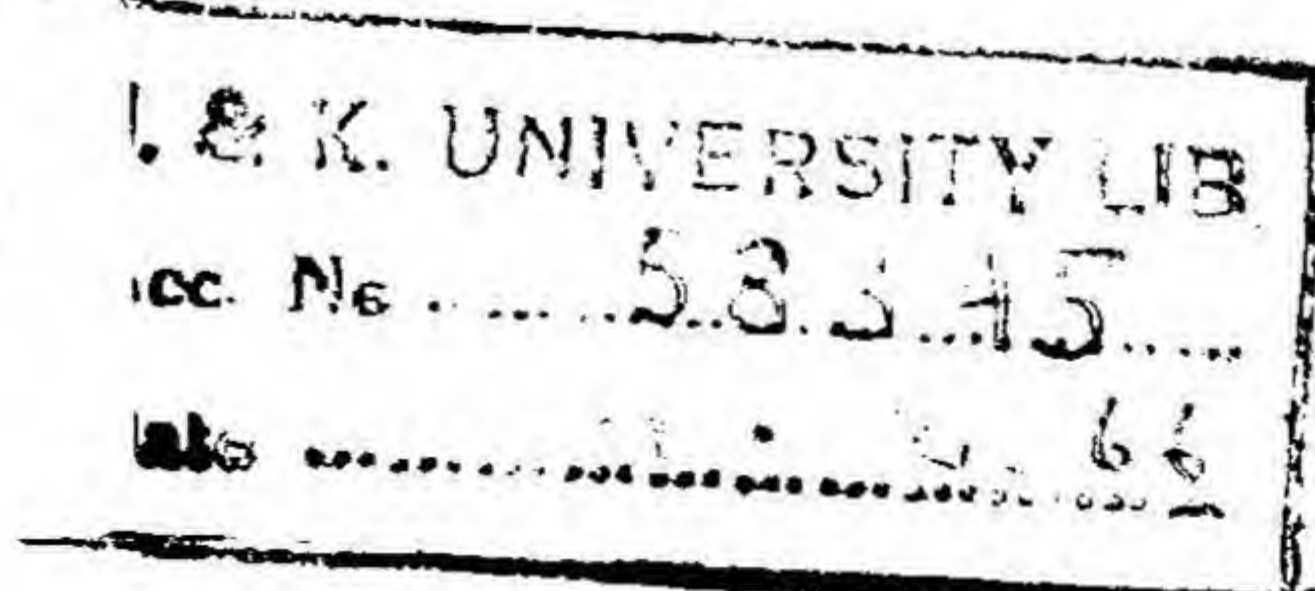
(1) *Asās i riyāsat i Karnāṭak*, a history of the Carnatic by M. Khair al-Dīn Khān Maḥmūd-Jang.

Edition: Fakhr i Nizāmī Press [**Haidarābād**<sup>1</sup>] date? (see **Haidarābād Coll.** p. 44).

(2) *Tahrīk al-shifāh bi-auṣāf Wālā-Jāh*, by Raushan al-Daulah Bahādur-Jang b. Nawwāb Wālā-Jāh: **Āṣafīyah** ii p. 1740 no. 34 (4).

(3) *Tārīkh i niyābat i 'Azīm-Jāh*, a history of the year 1252/1836–7, by Ghulām-Muḥammad 'Alī entitled (*al-mukhāṭab bah*) 'Azīm-Jāh, brother of A'zam-Jāh, Nawwāb of the Carnatic: **Āṣafīyah** iii p. 98 no. 1092.

<sup>1</sup> See **Haidarābād Coll.** p. 48, where the location of the Fakhr i Nizāmī Press is given as **Haidarābād**.























**ALLAMA  
IQBAL LIBRARY**

**UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR  
HELP TO KEEP THIS BOOK  
FRESH AND CLEAN**